(un-numbered)
(Vol. 3 No. 3)

SOCIALIST ACTION

Price 5¢

ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE (4th Internationalists). MONTREAL, April 1940

* not on microfilm file of Toronto Globe

EDITORIAL

WE MUST STAND ON OUR OWN FEET

A certain section of the boss press had been plumping for Union Government long before the war began and has now launched into a more intensive campaign. At present Manion has hitched his wagon to this agitation in the hopes that the Conservatives may thus carry the Canadian people back into the old fold. But a Union Government is more than a Conservative trick. For the workers it heralds at least temporary collapse of the two party system with which the boss parties have been feeding the workers lies and never-to-be-carried-out promises.

No one has put the question of a union government more clearly than the organ of patriotic farm opinion, the WESTERN PRODUCER of Feb. 15:

> "It is better than an even chance that a Union Government will be formed. No, this is not a prophecy that Dr. Manion will have a majority. It is based on the assumption that no matter what he may be saying now, even Mr. King will be compelled by the force of events and by his often repeated desire for harmony and unity in the war effort, to take into his cabinet representatives of all substantial groups... We are convinced that when the magnitude of the demands on the whole resources of the nation begins to be disclosed Mr King will place the interests of his country (read: capitalists) ahead of that of his party, and much as he may dislike it, will take the only course open to the attainment of that end, namely, the formation of a Union Government." (continued on page 2)

SIX MONTHS OF WAR

Summerized Report of (Political Committee)
Socialist Workers League

While six months of the war have wrought considerable change on the economic and political scene in Canada, the worker and farmer seem to be as unconcerned about the present war as they were in the past about international politics. To state this more specifically, the war in Europe is still to them largely a matter of foreign politics and concerns them only insofar as it effects their standard of living, their civil liberties, etc. The jingoistic press has failed miserably and has admitted so, to stir up the Canadian people to patriotic fervour. While it would be too optimistic to say that there is a wide-spread-antipathy to the war as yet, a conservative estimate would be to say that there is an extreme apathy to the war which is developing in the direction of hatred toward it. In this respect, the present war begins where the last one left off, a factor of tremendous significance.

SWL ALONE IN ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

The fact of the war has had one immediate political effect on (continued on page 4)

THE WORKERS VOTE

A MILITANT LABOUR PROGRAM FOR
THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS

In the few days remaining until March 26, the Socialist Workers League as a national organization, must conduct a propaganda campaign which will utilize to the utmost the opportunities afforded by the elections. Now, when free speech restrictions are somewhat relaxed and popular interest is high, we must put forward our own program for agitational purposes. Our campaign in the situation of a federal election called early in the war is planned in keeping with the political realities as outlined in the political report printed elsewhere in this issue. We bear in mind that, as yet, there is little overt hatred or active opposition to the war and the state. As yet, our cadres in the ranks of the Canadian working class movement are small. The revolutionary mass party has still to be created in Canada.

WIDE-SPREAD APATHY

Our point of departure is the evident wide-spread apathy and indifference to the war, the lack of patriotic fervour. As the miseries and economic (continued on page 7)

UNION GOVERNMENT -- A CAT O'NINE TAILS.

(continued from page 1.)

As the war develops, King or whoever else is in power, will begin to make stiffer demands on the people. Taxation on household commodities will climb still higher, and the backs of the workers will feel still heavier under the burden of the rising cost of living. Demand for manpower is on the order of the day as King succinctly pointed out in a national broadcast in which he threatened that "tens of thousands" of men will still be required for the war front. It is just such demands as these that the people will begin to resist, especially, as seems altogether probable, when conscription is introduced. A Union Government will be no different from any other capitalist government but it will indicate that the bosses are preparing to impose on the people new war measures to which they expect a distinctly unfavorable reaction. It will be forced on the people not by Manion or King but by the needs of the war when all resources of the country, financial and military have to be mobilized as never before. Instead of the Conservative or Liberal lash, the bosses plan to use the cat o'nine tails of a union government to drive the people more deeply into the war.

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RECORD OF KING GOVERNMENT

One fact must stand uppermost in the minds of the workers and farmers in the coming elections: neither King or Manion can even begin to solve the problems of the Canadian people. The Liberals and Conservatives and other capitalist politicians are the hirelings of the bosses and their job lies in spending more in the interest of the bosses and less for the benefit of the workers. Like all the previous capitalist governments in Canada, the record of the King administration demonstrates this simple fact.

UNEMPLOYMENT: Prior to the war King had complained of his inability to raise money to meet relief costs and refused to enter into any large scale relief projects to give the unemployed work and wages. Yet within a month after the outbreak of war, at the command of the Fifty Big Shots, plans a war budget that envisages the expenditure of more than a million dollars a day for the purpose of slaughter. Feeding the unemployed means taking money out of the pockets of Canadian financiers--that is why King cooly ignored demands for increased relief budgets. Pumping men, money and goods into the war machine nets the Big Shots vast profits--that is why King boasts of the ease with which he can raise a $200,000,000 loan.

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PROSPERITY ONLY FOR BIG BUSINESS

In spite of the increased industrial activity introduced by the war, LABOR GAZETTE, official government organ, still shows 600,000 on relief; the slight reduction in the number of unemployed owes more to the army than to the factories. The fact is that even the bosses are perturbed by the prospect of a permanent army of unemployables, estimated at 450,000 on relief, and admit that they will constitute a problem(!) during the war for, as is obvious, unemployables are the very ones who are physically unfit to fight for the bosses. Fifty Big Shots control 85% of the wealth in Canada. They alone are profiting from the war and the pre-war prosperity (?). Look at the figures:

Firms	1939 Profits	Increase over 1938
Imperial Tobacco	$6,500,000	$58,000
Hollinger Gold Mines	5,600,000	50,000
Bank of Nova Scotia	2,100,000	52,000
Falconbridge Nickel Mines	2,000,000	300,000
Lamaque Gold Mines	2,000,000	400,000
INTERNATIONAL NICKEL CO. of CANADA	36,900,000	4,500,000

And this is a mere beginning and the companies concerned where chosen at random.

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BOSSES WAR TAKES FIRST PLACE

HOUSING: The Housing Act, which provides for government backing of loans undertaken by the financial interests, does not contribute a penny towards the (continued on page 6.)

ERINS TRAGIC EASTER

(Editor's note: The following review of the stirring events of Easter 1916 was composed by a group of Irish workers now living in the Toronto district, who actually participated in the labour ranks in the uprising. The article is most timely now as Ireland promises to become,along with India, a "weak link" at which the chain of British Imperialism may snap, heralding the beginning of the end for World imperialism.)

The uprising in Ireland which began on Easter Monday, April 24th, 1916, has been described in a great many quarters as a "Sinn Fein Rebellion" or the"Sein Fein Revolt". But nothing is further from the truth. The imperialists have a habit of fastening a label on any movement directed against British authority or British interests, and heaping all the infamy and slander that is possible on it. So the casual reader, who knows nothing about Sinn Fein, has been led,by English writers and their imitators to beleive that Sinn Fein is a monstrosity and that only the depraved and those lost beyond all redemption would have anything to do with such an organization.

In blackening the movement for Irish national independence as being mere bomb-throwing terrorism, these hacks of the British Empire seek to cover up the dark and bloody record of centuries-long suppression and pauperization by English land-owners and capitalists. The uprising, coming as it did in the second year of the World War was a natural outcome of the oppression of a people reduced to a standard of living below that of any European country, and of the stupidity and incompotence of the English who could not or would not recognize the conditions under which the people were suffering. The deep-rooted desire of the Irish people for freedom from foreign rule was the inspiration of the uprising.

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FIGHT FOR IRISH INDEPENDENCE

The organizations, through which that desire was manifested, were made clear in the Declaration of Irish Independence read at the base of Nelson Pillar in Dublin. The secret Irish Republican body known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood, now known as the Irish Republican Army, the Irish Volunteers and that sturdy band of representatives of Irish labor, the Citizen Army, did all the fighting against superior odds both in numbers and equipment. Let it be said that this was no rebellion caused by German or American influence but an attempt on the part of Ireland to regain control of her own destinies and affairs and to drive outside her gates, the stranger who had so long made himself master in her house. Knowing that the British government sought to strike at all the organizations, to exterminate them by arresting and deporting the leaders , disarming the rank and file in order to force conscription on the masses, the Irish struck first. To say that it was wrong to accept aid from a foreign power is sheer nonsence. Since when has a nation about to strike for freedom not accepted help from those that were prepared to give it? The movement went badly from the outset, through lack of preparation,the absence of a Marxian Worker's party with a strong leadership, ready to carry the fight through to an attack on capitalism itself. James Connolly the only Marxist revolutionary among the leaders was opposed to the calling of such an unprepared struggle,feeling that it was premature. But when it came, Connolly took his place in the forefront. The expected arms and munitions were intercepted by British cruisers and the uprising was isolated in two or three places. Eoin MacNeill, receiving word of the seizure of the arms and the arrest of Roger Casement,issued orders to the saturday evening papers cancelling all parades and manouvres for Easter Sunday. This broke the back of the uprising at the very beginning. Nevertheless, the I.R B.and the Irish Volunteers decided to go ahead on Monday and issued orders accordingly. They were joined by the Citizens Army.

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BRUTAL SUPPRESSION

It is common knowledge how the uprising was suppreessed. Almost all the leaders were shot by firing squads. McNeill received life imprisonment. Padraic Pearce, Thomas McDonagh, Thomas Clarke, Joseph Plunket, Edward Daly, Michael O'Hannahan, William Pearce, John McBride, Cornelius Colbert, Edmond Kent, Michael Mallon, Thomas Kent,James Connolly, Sean McDermott and J.J.Huoston were shot. Countess de Markiewicz, (continued on page 6.)

AFTER SIX MONTHS OF WAR

(continued from page 1.)

our League. Suddenly we found ourselves as the only political grouping opposed to the war. The various degrees of opposition expressed by other groups does not change this fact. We can afford no longer to be just a propaganda group in the sense of directing our program to the advanced workers only. Despite our limited forces, it is necessary, it is mandatory, that we reach beyond the advanced workers into the nethermost layers of workers and farmers. Tomorrow, the sullen passivity of these groups will make a 180 degree turn in the direction of mass opposition to the war and the regime that is responsible for it. This course will in all probability not take a straight line. It is not excluded, in fact it is quite likely, that in the months ahead an accentuation of patriotism will develop and repressions will become more acute. That will mark the real beginning of the war and its prosecution in earnest. Just as today's war on the economic field and in the diplomatic chancellories is only a prelude to the mass slaughter, so the patriotism will be a passing breeze before the inevitable storm. The nature of our propaganda and activity must record this change. Our opposition to the war must be made known as far as possible throughout the country - not tomorrow, but today, so that tomorrow's developements will be facilitated in our direction.

PEOPLE PAY FOR WAR

The present situation is influenced by the following factors: 1) The sharp rise in the cost of living; 2) the heavy war taxes placed on the people; 3) the ruthless order-in-council government by decree which has robbed the people of their democratic rights; 4) the certain knowledge that this war can do nothing for them. The war began just as Canada was emerging from the 1937-38 recession. Increased industrial activity was just being felt by the trade unions. This trend was improved by domestic war orders in the ensuing months. The result has been to prod the unions into activity with some measure of success. Better organised labor experienced 5% to 8% wage increases, which is still considerably behind the 15% rise in living costs.

The farmer too was disappointed in his expectations of prosperity. The Allied policy of purchasing grains from those markets accessible to Germany together with a measure of price increase control kept Canadian wheat prices down to a very moderate increase. The farmer was perhaps able to pay off some debts, but on the whole remains in his pre-war state of poverty, as the slightly improved price level of wheat was more than offset by the price increase of other commodities which he must purchase. The beginning of the war found him in severe economic straits. He was loaded down by huge debts which consumed the fruits of his produce and kept him in a state of semi-starvation. Since then, price increases of the goods he must purchase have far outstriped the modest rise in agricultural prices and this difference will continue to widen. The farmer knows that he will never obtain the high prices for his products which the last war yeilded. Instead of the war improving his situation, as was expected initially, his position will steadily worsen. The west will remain a seething cauldron of discontent and tremendous revolutionary energy is being stored on the prairies. As in the last war, so in the present the west will prove itself a courageous fighter against finance capital, and possibly the first spark in the impending explosion.

BOSSES OUT FOR PROFITS

Unemployed figures have remained essentially the same as in 1937, notwithstanding production increases and recruiting. Substantial cuts in relief are inevitable in the period ahead because of the war. The question of conscription is still an open one, and hesitancy on the part of the government is due to the certainty of wide-spread resistance, especially from the province of Quebec. The issue is sure to be renewed, however, when the spring offensive in the war zones takes on definite shape in large numbers of casualties.

In the period ahead, therefore, the trouble zones will be in the economic sphere, viz., continuing rising costs and further crushing taxation on the backs of the poor. The government has already indicated its intention of saddling the cost of the war on the masses 61% of the first war budget is to be raised by indirect taxation, i.e., household commodities, etc. The bubble of the much talked of curb on war profiteering was pricked in the first weeks of the war. The government price control board has (continued on page 5.)

(continued from page 4.) admitted its failure to function and its purchasing wing was not able to place a single war order on the basis of a maximum 5% profit. The patriotism of the bosses is being felt only when there is talk of peace, when, with a shudder of fear, they denounce such talk as unpatriotic, knowing the inevitable dislocation that is sure to come. Thus, the war has given a temporary lease of life to Canadian capitalism, but its debacle will only be the greater in contrast.

MORE WORKERS IN HEAVY INDUSTRIES

In this respect, it is necessary to take into consideration the major changes that Canadian economy has experienced since the last war. In 1914, mining and manufacturing played an insignificant role in relation to agriculture. In the quarter of a century that has elapsed wheat has been challenged as the major staple production in Canada. Most important of all has been the rapid advance of mining. Today there are some 190 mines, in comparison with 50 a quarter of a century ago. Total mineral poroduction for 1939 reached $470.2 millions, an all time high for this country. of this, $339.5 millions was in the metals, and $130.7 millions in the non-metallics, such as coal, petroleum, etc. The proletariat in this industry numbers some 60,000,a substantial portion of the population, including families. If the CIO is to challenge the union movement successfully, it must penetrate this vast field, perhaps the most difficult force for labor to penetrate. While the west will remain a most important basis for operations, the east will play an infinitely greater role in the mass upsurges that will come.The concentration of the proletariat since 1914 in this area dictates the arena of our activities.

C C F - AN EGG WITH DOUBLE YOKE

The war acted as a check on the growing Herridge movement.This "left-conservative-new-deal" has now become a jingoistic flag-waving group, calling for conscription and all the other trimmings of a maximum war program. The west, dissillusioned with the Conservatives and Social Credit, dropping the Liberals and Herridge,will turn more and more to the CCF. Reports also indicate that quack movements like technocracy are springing up in this unstable milieu. The general trend, however, seems to be in the direction of farmer-labor independent politics which takes the concrete form of support of the CCF, more particularly in the west. Aberhart' desperate stab at an Alberta election five days before the federal election confirms reports of unrest. While the federal election comes too soon to allow for a drastic shake-up in the present alignment of forces to record itself, nevertheless the trend is established and should make itself felt in the election results.

The CCF,however,finds itself torn in twobetween the existing Coldwell leadership which supports the war "economically" , and the overwhelming sections of the membership which supports Woodsworth's pacifist position. This struggle will reflect itself in the elections and the socialpatriotim of the parliamentary fraction will add not a little confusion to the present trend of the masses towards labor politics.The struggle itself,however was an inevitable develpment and,has tremendous significance for us. The situation is in sharp contrast to the 1914 socialist betrayals when the masses themselves were swept into the war on the waves of patriotism that swept the world at that time.

COMMUNIST PARTY CONTINUES ON SKIDS

The CP continues to disintegrate. The mass petty bourgeois following attracted to its ranks in the popular front period was sloughed off with the Stalin-Hitler pact and the subsequent corelated change in Comintern poltics in line with the Kremlin's foreign policy. These remained the democratic patriots they were and left the CP. The largest section of the CP membership is composed of European immigrants. The language sections built the CP and remain its backbone today. In the preceding years,considerable portions were lost, in particular its Finnish section. The polish campaign has further disintegrated this following.Further adventures by the Kremlin in the present European holocaust can only continue this tendency.The growing police repressions may check it somewhat by lending ficttitious prestige to bankrupt Stalinism as the champion of the oppressed. Certainly its ranks have been tightened in preparation for illegal existence. But its chances of becoming a serious factor in Canadian politics has been considerably harmed by the new turn.

FORWARD WITH SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE

Possibilities have never appeared brighter for the Canadian section of the Fourth International. If we keep a cool head,cautiously extend our limited group (cont. on page 6.)

AFTER SIX MONTHS OF WAR(continued from page 5)

of cadres and penetrate the mass organizations we shall undubitably be a factor of no little importance before the war ends.We have faced the first test with complete success; our ranks have held firm. Our work has not only continued, but has actually intensified since the war began. The mandatory work of penetrating the mass organizations is being conducted vigorously.

Our transitional program retains its former validity: the slogans: For a Workers' and Farmers' Gov't; expropriate the fifty big shots; workers' control of production; food and plenty: not guns and bombers; bread,not aeroplanes - must be pressed forward more vigorously and in conjunction with our anti-war work as a whole. The economic struggles of the masses will be the first and most important step in the overthrow of capitalism. This is the most essential aspect of revolutionary defeatism. If we are alert to every developing mood of the workers and farmers, we shall be able to exert a maximum of influence in a correct revolutionary direction.

FORWARD TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION! FOR A SOCIALIST PEACE!

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KING'S RECORD(continued from page 2.)

real solution of the housing shortage and the wiping out of urban and rural slums.The Act was designed primarily to stimulate private construction industry by encouraging the WAGE-EARNING workers to build houses. The Act did not even pretend to provide for slum clearance or low rent houses for the unemployed and low paid worker. Like all capitalist governments,the King administration sought to help the bosses,not the workers.On the outbreak of war even the inadequate Housing Act was restricted in its application, the government offering a heavy war budget as an excuse. Here again the bosses' war takes precedence over the interests of the workers and farmers.

FARMERS SUFFER STARVATION-PRICES

WHEAT: Last year the King government guaranteed the farmers 70¢ a bushel for wheat.King was well aware,however, that his price could not hope to keep the farmer at a minumum-of-subsistence level of existence. In 1936 the WESTERN PRODUCER calculated CONSERVATIVELY that the cost to the farmer of production and delivery of a bushel of wheat was $1.03. This price does not give any profit or wages to the farmer. It just barely meets his cost of living. And yet King magnanimously offered .70¢ a bushel! In setting this price King condemned the farmers to continued starvation, offering to see that they got little more than half what it costs them to produce their wheat. Today better priced wheat has risen to.86¢ but there has occured a corresponding increase in the cost of living and at present the cost of production of wheat even in the low terms of the WESTERN PRODUCER would stand at $1.25. None of the boss parties are capable of relieving this situation.

CAPITALIST "PATRIOTISM"

Here again, as between boss and farmer, the old line parties choose the former. On the outbreak of war King tried to place war contracts with industrialists and found that they refused to accept the war orders unless a clause passed at the last session of Parliament limiting profits to 5% were lifted. King promptly raised the restriction. The patriotism of the capitalist only boils over when there are easy profits in store. But this does not prevent the politicans from urging the farmers to devote a "patriotic acre" for the production of FREE wheat to the cause of the financiers.

WORKERS MUST ACT

We must not let ourselves be fooled by the boss parties any longer.They crawl when the industrialist cracks the whip. Obediently they have led us into this war and will not bring peace until their profits and the fortunes of British imperialism are assured for another period.

Only a workers and farmers government, genuinely representing the interests of the oppressed can begin to tackle unemployment, housing, agricultural poverty. The workers themselves through their own government can demand a halt to this war for profits and the establishment of a socialist peace.That is why in the coming elections we realise the cry Protest against the bosses' war and

VOTE LABOR!

ERINS TRAGIC EASTER(continued from page 3)

Henry O'Hannahan and DeValera were sentenced to death but were commuted to penal servitude for life. The aftermath of vicious repression was worse than the uprising itself. The plenary powers given to Brig.-Gen. Maxwell were used to the fullest extent. The military authorities continued to arrest,sentence and banish people at their own sweet will. James Connolly, one of the sixteen executed, although mortally wounded was tied to a chair and shot. The Irish masses learned many lessons from the uprising of Easter 1916. Another Easter may see a better organised attempt to turn England's difficulty into Irelands opportunity.

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THE WORKERS VOTE(continued from page 1.)

burdens of the war increasingly hit the living standards of the masses, indifference must pass over into active opposition in the form of economic struggles. Our role is to be the yeast, the leavening agent which will aid in transmuting the indifference into positive anti-war sentiment and activity. To the utmost of our limited resources our agitation must seek to accelerate the trend of the masses away from the capitalist parties to a way out by independent activity as a class.

ANTI-BOSS VOTE IS START

The overwhelming majority of the workers who are rebelling against the iniquities of capitalism will vote for the CCF.A small proportion will throw their votes to the Stalinists, the pseudo-left candidates of the workers. We of the Socialist Workers League do not advise a boycott or abstention from voting on the basis of our conviction that no party represent the basic revolutionary interests of the workers. This would only be a futile political gesture; the workers would only see in it a relative strengthening of the capitalist forces. The leftward moving workers and farmers begin their independent political action by rejecting the political parties of capital, conservative andliberal, by such an anti-capitalist vote.

We call upon the workfrs to cast their vote for the CCF candidates and for the Stalinistst where they are the only workers' candidates in any constituency. Thereby we do not endorse their system of political ideas nor their false theories or policies, nor do the workers necessarily endorse them by voting for them. But, when returned, the workers must demand that they begin to fight for the "demands" they have placed in their programs. Such a fight would arouse the workers throughout the country and would assist greatly in their organisation for mass pressure outside the Parliamentry arena.

PROPOSED PROGRAM

To such workers' candidates,the SWL proposes that they support the following program:

1. That the $500 million which the government plans to have spent for war by March,1941 be diverted to the crying needs of the Canadian workers and farmers.
2. That prices for wheat be guaranteed on a sliding scale to meet rising cost of living. Like minimum wages, we must demand minimum prices for wheat to assure the farmer of a decent standard of living. That subsidies to the wheat farmers be increased to enable them to realise more than the bare cost of production.
3. That wide public works programs and low rental housing schemes for the unemployed be immediately launched.
4. That unemployment relief in cash, adequate to conform to health requirements and increased to meet rising living costs be federally financed and administered.
5. That a federal, non-contributary unemployment insurance scheme be set up at once.
6. That minimum wages be set at thirty dollars a week and maximum hours of work in all industries be limited to thirty; that wages be raised to meet rising prices.
7. That full recognition be given to trade union rights of organisation - strike and picketing - in all industries, including those working on war contracts.
8. That sections 21, 39 and 39A of the Defence of Canada Regulations be immediately repealed, and full civil liberties, freedom of speech and assembly restored.

FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT
EXPROPIATE THE FIFTY BIG SHOTS
DOWN WITH THE BOSSES' WAR FOR PROFITS
FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF PRODUCTION
DOWN WITH ORDER-IN-COUNCIL DICTATORSHIP
FOR BREAD, NOT PLANES
FOR A SOCIALIST PEACE!

Official Organ SOCIALIST ACTION Canadian Section 4th International
SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE

(Apr. 1940)

BEFORE YOU VOTE

Workers of Canada! You have been given one last chance to cast a ballot before being coerced into the battlefields of Europe. Do not be misled by the repeated promises of the capitalist politicians. The continuation of the war will bring conscription. Today's promises mean nothing unless you are ready to fight, ready to strike and demonstrate AGAINST CONSCRIPTION.

BEFORE YOU VOTE ask yourselves: What will this war give you?

In 1914 they promised you
a land fit for heroes to live in, an end to militarism and autocracy,
that it was a war to end all wars and make the world safe for democracy.

And they gave you
Mass unemployment and wage cuts, fascism and dictatorship triumphant in two-thirds of Europe.

BEFORE YOU VOTE ask yourselves: Is this a war for democracy?
Democracy does not exist for two-thirds of the inhabitants of the British and French Empires. In Canada the War Measures Act has deprived us of our democratic rights.

BEFORE YOU VOTE ask yourselves: Is this a war for peace against aggression?
Britain and France and Germany are all greedy, aggressive imperialisms fighting for a re-division of the colonial plunder.

BEFORE YOU VOTE ask yourselves: What will this war mean?
Death and suffering to millions of toilers.
Wealth and fortunes to the 50 big shots who control this country.

THE CANADIAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT THIS WAR! They have had no voice in its declaration. They hate Hitler, but they must know that British bayonets will not unseat him. The British and French bosses have set up dictatorships in the so-called "democratic"countries.Fascism is capitalism in decay and can only be ended by socialism

They hate Stalin,but Stalinism is not the socialism won by the workers from the capitalists in the last war.He is a dictator who has robbed the Russian workers of the fruits of that victory. We must defend the gains of the Russian revolution against Stalinism and world capitalism.

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VOTE FOR LABOR CANDIDATES!! Do not trust the so-called "friends of labor". The Liberals and Conservatives are your friends only in word, and represent the bosses who own this country. Social Credit, Technocracy and other fly-by-night panaceas will lead to nothing but disillusionment. Break with the capitalist parties! You know they cannot solve your problems. VOTE LABOR!

YOU MUST BUILD AN ANTI-WAR PARTY, a party of socialism, which speaks with the voice of the masses. That is the only way to stop this blood-bath and mass slaughter and establish permanent peace.

A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT must be your first and foremost demand.One that is based on the power you give it and that will establish an IMMEDIATE SOCIALIST PEACE.

Issued by: National Committee-Socialist Workers League of Canada.
Canadian Section - Fourth International.

SOCIALIST ACTION

Official Organ SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE Canadian Section 4th International

VOL.3 NO.4 MONTREAL, 1940 Price 5¢

MAY DAY IS STILL THE WORKERS DAY

MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE

TO THE WORKERS AND FARMERS OF CANADA: MAY DAY, 1940, finds the workers of the world in the death-grip of a bloody struggle of the big powers for world domination. The war lords of every great country drive tens of millions of their subjects into horrible death on the battlefields.

Chamberlain, Hitler, Reynaud, Mussolini Mackenzie King have completed their gigantic plot. They have begun again the struggle for the re-division of the world, the battle to see which of the powers shall have first choice in exploiting the great masses of mankind.

THIS WAR IS NOT LABORS WAR. Labors war in EVERY country is AGAINST the war-makers against King as well as Hitler, Chamberlain as well as Mussolini.

Within every capitalist power, THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE WORKERS IS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. Against that enemy must labor's blows be first directed, not against the brother workers and farmers of other lands.

NO SUPPORT, NOT A CENT, NOT A MAN, TO THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT IN ITS WAR! LET THE PEOPLE VOTE FOR PEACE! Why do King and his fellow war-makers fear the voice of the people?

NO SECRET DIPLOMACY! We have a right to know what is being prepared for us. Why are the diplomatic negotiations conducted behind locked doors? Why were military commitments made behind the backs of the people? Let the truth be known! ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED! Millions of dollars are being poured into the war machine to be used to murder workers for the sake of profits, while unemployed starve. BREAD, NOT AEROPLANES!

The Defence of Canada Regulations are directed mainly against labor. In the War Measures Act are regulations which prevent labor from exercising any civil rights whatever except the right to die and to work inhuman hours under slave conditions.

AGAINST THE ATTACK BY THE GOVERNMENT ON THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF LABOR!
FOR THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLE, FREE SPEECH, UNION ORGANIZATION, PICKETING AND CLOSED SHOP!

Despite recruiting and talk of increased employment, the economic crisis is in no way improved. ¾ of a million relief recipients and their families are outside of industry. Millions more not on relief are on part time or getting starvation wages. The great bulk of the youth are turned out of school with no chance of ever getting a job.

THIRTY DOLLARS——THIRTY HOURS! The great tradition of May Day, which started on the American continent, was built up in the victorous battle for the eight hour day. The time has come for the labor movement to protect itself by carrying through on a nation-wide scale the struggle for the six hour day, thirty hour week.

According to welfare department figures, the present wage level is only about half that needed for health FOR A $30 MINIMUM WEEKLY WAGE FOR EVERY WORKER, EMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED!

FOR AN UPWARD SLIDING SCALE OF WHEAT PRICES TO MEET THE FARMERS RISING COST OF LIVING! While profits of the finance capitalists rise, the toiling farmer must pay more and more for their life necessities. The farmer is a slave to the ruling fifty big shots of Canada. They rob him of the fruits of his labor by keeping prices down to below-cost-of-production levels. Wheat at $1.25 a bushel can only begin to solve his terrible economic plight.

May Day is the occasion when every serious worker should remember his indissoluble ties with his fellow-workers in every other nation, and should pledge himselve to struggle side by side with the workers everywhere against the common enemy: against imperialism and the whole vile system of exploitation and tyranny throughout the world. Together, the workers of the entire world will resolve that they will not permit human civilation to be destroyed in this gangster war. They will transform this war for blood and profits into a war of the oppressed of all nations against their oppressors. Out of the present darkness, international labor will build a new classless society of peace, security and freedom. That new world is within our grasp! If we have the courage and the will, we shall gain it!

FOR THE TRIUMPH OF LABOR AND SOCIALISM! FOR TE DEFEAT OF THE WAR MONGERS!

EDITORIAL

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

With Hitler's invasion into Scandanavia,a new stage in the Second World War is reached. And new dangers loom up for the Soviet Union and the world working class.

The Finnish eposode over,Stalin had settled back with ill-concealed relief to count his gains and examine the new position created by his greater proximity to the field of hostilities, the dissipation of the last remnants of good-will among his former friends of the Left in the rest of the world. He had gained a few thousand square miles of territory,he had revealed great gaps of inefficiency within the Red Army, he had settled with the threat of the Mannerheim Line to Leningrad. Those former uncritical admirers of his who yesterday stoutly defended (at no expense to themselves) the Stalin regime within Soviet Russia had at long last found their idol with feet of clay. But as uncritical as their admiration had been in the past, so their denounciation became as sweeping in the other extreme. Lacking a scientific understanding of the nature of Stalinism, they fouud themselves in the camp of Western Imperialism, sharing with Chamberlain a virtuous indignation at the act of "Russian Imperialism" which they saw in the Finnish invasion.

STALIN'S COURSE OF INVASION

Marxists who have followed the course of the Stalin regime for the last fifteen years, have had no difficulty in predicting and understanding the Finnish invasion as a desperate stroke of the burocracy, panic-stricken in the face of the Second World War, fearing only to see its privileges and domination ended as the whirlpool of war threatens to draw the Soviet Union into its vortex. That Britain and France would dearly love to see Germany and the Soviet Union engaged in mortal combat has been no secret, and that they would be willing to finance an anti-Soviet enterprise has been abundantly revealed by the course of the Finnish affair. A cornered rat will fight back, and not wait for the first blow either. So, Stalin has successively committed so-called acts of "aggression" against Poland,Esthonia,Lithuania, Latvia and finally Finland. Which makes them no less acts of desperation, doomed by the logic of the course set up by the utopian theory of Socialism in One Country. To label these acts of Stalin "Imperialist" or "Fascist" and to find in them a justification for abandoning Marxist reasoning is an admission of incompetence. In the final reckoning, it means the support of our own imperialists.

RUSSIAN ISOLATIONISM DOOMED

Giving voice to Stalin's dearest wish, Molotoff assures the the world that it is not the intention of the Soviet Union to let itself be drawn into the Second World War-- as though such an eventuality could be decided by the burocracy! The British squeeze what comfort they can from this platonic assurance and profess to find in it signs of a "cooling-off" between Stalin and Hitler. Alas for their hopes, trade between Germany and Russia increases and extends, with German technicians oiling the gears; so long as the German military machine finds Russia willing to cooperate in granting Pacific submarine bases, concrete signs are for a closer link between Stalin and Hitler.

Germany's sudden move into Scandinavia presents Stalin with the bogey-man that he had feared and which he had endeavered to anticipate with the subjugation of Finland. Events will now likely move with accelarated tempo. The period of maneouvering is over and action, quick, dramatic, devastating, may be expected. Russia's entry into the war is likely and the nature of the entry will be decided by episodes of the struggle.

EFFECTS ON CANADA

Similarly, the covert support of the Allies accorded by the United States will soon be replaced by one of a full-blooded nature.To that end,Roosvelt's third term will probably be presented as a patriotic necessity.

In Canada,the sudden extension of hostilities will undoubtedly bring about conscription, despite Mackenzie King's promises to the contrary. Only fools and children would place any faith in them. In any event,there will be a steady flow of Canadian manpower across the Atlantic,to release British and French soldiers from the trenches and allow the industrial machines of Britain and France free function. These machines, together with the support of United States and the Dominions, inevitably strangling German trade,is forcing Hitler to seek a final decision on the military side. Meanwhile,a period of "war-prosperity" should enable the class-conscious vanguard to prepare the (continued on page 12.)

AGAIN AND ONCE MORE AGAIN ON THE NATURE OF THE U.S.S.R.

by LEON TROTSKY

PHYCOANALYSIS AND MARXISM

CERTAIN COMRADES,or former comrades,such as Bruno R.having forgotten the past discussions and decisions of the Fourth International,attempt to explain my personal estimate of the Soviet State psychoanalytically."Since Trotsky participated in the Russian revolution it is difficult for him to lay aside the idea of the workers' state inasmuch as he would have to renounce his whole life's cause," etc. I think that old Freud, who was very perspicacious, would have cuffed the ears of psychoanalysts of this ilk a little. Naturally I would never risk taking such action myself. Nevertheless I dare assure my critics that subjectivity and sentimentality are not on my side but on theirs.

Moscows conduct, which has passed all bounds of abjectness and cynicism, calls forth an easy revolt within every proletarian revolutionary. Revolt engenders need for rejection. When the forces for immediate action are absent, impatient revolutionaries are inclined to resort to artificial methods. Thus arises, for example, the tactic of individual terror. More frequently resort is taken to strong expressions, to insults, and to imprecation. In the case which concerns us certain comrades are manifestly inclined to seek compensation through "terminological" terror. However, even from this point of view the mere fact of qualifying the bureaucracy as a class is worthless.If the Bonapartist riffraff is a class this means that it is not an abortion but a viable child of history. If its marauding parasitism is "exploitation" in the sceintific sense of the term, this means that the bureaucracy possesses a historical future as the ruling class indespensable to the given system of economy. Here we have the end to which impatient revolt leads when it cuts itself loose from Marxist discipline!

When an emotional mechanic considers an automobile in which, let us say, gangsters have escaped from police pursuit over a bad road, and finds the frame bent, the wheels out of line,and the motor partially damaged, he might quite justifiably say: "It is not an automobile-devil knows what it is!" Such an estimate would lack any technical and scientific value, but it would express the legitimate reaction of the mechanic at the work of the gangsters. Let us suppose, however, that this same mechanic must recondition the object which he named "devil-knows-what-it-is. In this case he will start with the recognition that it is a damaged automobile before him. He will determine what parts are still good and what are beyond repair in order to decide how to begin work. The class-conscious worker will have a similar attitude toward the U.S.S.R. He has full right to say that the gangsters of the bureaucracy have transformed the workers'state into "devil-knows-what-it-is." But when he passes from this explosive reaction to the solution of the political problem.he is forced to recognize that it is a damaged workers' state before him,in which the motor of economy is damaged, but which still continues to run and which can be completely reconditioned with the replacement of some parts. Of course this is only an analogy. Nevertheless it is worth reflecting over.

"A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' STATE"

Some voices cry out: "If we continue to recognize the U.S.S.R. as a workers' state, we will have to establish a new category: the counter-revolutionary workers'state." This argument attempts to shock our imagination by opposing a good programatic norm to a miserable, mean, even repugnant reality. But haven't we observed from day to day since 1923 how the Soviet State has played a more and more counter-revolutionary role on the international arena? Have we forgotten the experience of the Chinese revolution, of the 1926 general strike in England, and finally the very fresh experience of the Spanish revolution? There are two completely counter-revolutionary workers'Internationals. These critics have apparently forgotten this "category". The trade unions of France, Great Britain, the United States,and other countries support completely the counter-revolutionary politics of their bourgeoisie. This does not prevent us from(continued on next page.)

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labeling them trade unions, from supporting their progressive steps, and from defending them against the bourgeoisie . Why is it impossible to employ the same method with the counter-revolutionary workers'state?In the last analysis a workers'state is a trade union which has conquered power. The difference in attitude in the two cases is explainable by the simple fact that the trade unions have a long history and we have become accustomed to consider them as realities and not simply as "categories" in our program. But, as regards the workers' state there is being evinced an inability to learn to approach it as a real historical fact which has not subordinated itself to our program.

"IMPERIALISM"

Can the present expansion of the Kremlin be termed imperialism? First of all we must establish what social content is included in this term. History has known the"imperialism" of the Roman state based on slave labor, the imperialism of feudal land-ownership, the imperialism of commericial and industrial capital, the imperialism of the Czarist monarchy,etc. The driving force behind the Moscow bureaucracy is indubitably the tendency to expand its power, its prestige, its revenue. This is the element of "imperialism" in the widest sense of the word which was a property in the past of all monarchies, oligarchies, ruling castes, medieval estates and classes. However, in contemporary literature,at least Marxist literature, imperialism is understood to mean the EXPANSIONIST POLICY OF FINANCE CAPITAL which has a sharply defined economic content. To employ the term "imperialism" for the foreign policy of the Kremlin -- without elucidating exactly what this signifies, means simply to identify the policy of the Bonapartist bureaucracy with the policy of monopolistic capitalism on the basis that both one and the other utilize military force for expansion. Such an indenification, capable of sowing only confusion, is much more proper to petti-bourgeois democrats than to Marxists.

CONTINUATION OF THE POLICY OF CZARIST IMPERIALISM

The Kremlin participates in a new division of Poland, the Kremlin lays hands on the Baltic states, the Kremlin orients towards the Balkans, Persia and Afghanistan; in other words, the Kremlin continues the polity of Czarist imperialism. Do we not have the right in this case to label the policy of the Kremlin itself imperialist? This historical-geographical arguement is no more convincing than any of the others. The proletarian revolution, which occurred on the territory of the Czarist empire,attempted from the very beginning to conquer and for a time conquered the Baltic countries; attempted to penetrate Rumania and Persia and at one time led its armies up to Warsaw (1920). The lines of revolutionary expansion were the same as those of Czarism, since revolution does not change geographical conditions. That is precisely why the Mensheviks at that time already spoke of Bolshevik imperialism as borrowed from the traditions of Czarist diplomacy. The petti-bourgeois democracy willingly resorts to this argument even now. We have no reason, I repeat, for imitating them in this.

AGENCY OF IMPERIALISM?

However, aside from the manner in which to appraise the expansionist policy of the USSR. itself,there remains the question of the help which Moscow provides the imperialist policy of Berlin. Here first of all, it is necessary to establish that under certain conditions up to a certain degree and in a certain form-the support of this or that imperialism would be inevitable even for a completely healthy workers' state-in virtue of the impossibility of breaking away from the chains of world imperialist relations. The Brest-Litovsk peace without the least doubt temporarily reinforced German imperialism against France and England. An isolated workers' state cannot fail to maneuver between the hostile imperialist camps. Maneuvering means temporarily supporting one of them against the other. To know exactly which one of the two camps it is more advantageous or less dangerous to support at a certain moment is not a question of principle but of practical calculation and foresight.The inevitable disadvantage which is engendered as a consequence of this constrained support of one bourgeois state against another is more than covered by the fact that the isolated workers' state is thus given the possibility of continuing its existence.

But there is maneuvering and maneuvering. At Brest-Litovsk the Soviet government sacrificed the national independence of the Ukraine in order to salvage (ct'd on next page.)

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the workers'state. Nobody could speak of treason toward the Ukraine.,since all the class-conscious workers understood the forced character of this sacrifice. It is completely different with Poland. The.Kremlin has never and at no place represented the question as if it had been CONSTRAINED to sacrifice Poland.On the contrary,it boasts cynically of its combination, which affronts, rightfully, the most elementary democratic feelings of the oppressed classes and peoples throughout the world and thus weakens extremely the international situation of the Soviet Union. The economic transformations in the occupied provinces do not compensate for this by even a tenth part.

The entire foreign policy of the Kremlin in general is based upon a scoundrelly embellishment of the "freindly" imperialism and thus leads to the sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the world workers' movement for secondary and unstable advantages. After five years of duping the workers with slogans for the "defense of the democracies" Moscow is now occupied with covering up Hitler's policy of pillage. This in itself still does not change the U.S.S.R. into an imperialist state. But Stalin and his Comintern are now indubitably the most valuable agency of imperialism.

If we want to define the foreign policy of the Kremlin exactly, we must say that it is the policy of the BONAPARTIST BUREAUCRACY OF A DEGENERATED WORKERS' STATE IN IMPERIALIST ENCIRCLEMENT. This definition is not as short or as sonorous as "imperialist policy," but in return it is more precise.

"THE LESSER EVIL"

The occupation of Eastern Poland by the Red Army is to be sure a "lesser evil" in comparison to the occupation of the same territory by the Nazi troops. But this lesser evil was obtained because Hitler was assured of achieving a greater evil. If somebody sets, or helps to set a house on fire and afterward saves five out of ten of the occupants of the house in order to convert them into his own semi-slaves, that is to be sure a lesser evil than to have burned the entire ten.But it is dubious that this firebug merits a medal for the rescue. If nevertheless a medal were given to him he should be shot immediately after as in the case of the hero in one of Victor Hugo's novels.

"ARMED MISSIONARIES"

Robespiere once said that people do not like missionaries with bayonets. By this he wished to say that it is impossible to impose revolutionary ideas and institutions on other people through military violence. This correct thought does not signify of course the inadmissibility of military intervention in other countries in order to cooperate in a revolution. But such an intervention, as part of a revolutionary international policy, must be understood by the international proletariat,must correspond to the desires of the toiling masses of the country on whose territory the revolutionary troops enter. The theory of socialism in one country is not capable, naturally, of creating this active international solidarity which alone can prepare and justify armed intervention. The Kremlin poses and resolves the question of military intervention,like all other questions of its policy, absolutely independently of the ideas and feelings of the international working class. Because of this, the latest diplomatic "successes" of the Kremlin monstrously compromise the U.S.S.R. and introduce extreme confusion in the ranks of the world proletariat.

INSURRECTION ON TWO FRONTS

But if the question thus shapes itself—some comrades say—is it proper to speak of the defense of the U.S,S.R. and the occupied provinces? Is it not more correct to call upon the workers and peasants in both parts of former Poland to arise against Hitler as well as against Stalin? Naturally, this is very attractive. If revolution surges up simultaneously in Germany and in the U.S.S.R., including the newly occupied provinces, this would resolve many questions at one blow. But our policy cannot be based upon only the most favorable,the most happy combination of circumstances. The question is posed thus: What to do if Hitler, before he is crushed by revolution,attacks the Ukraine before revolution has smashed Stalin? Will the partisans of the Fourth International in this case fight against the troops of Hitler as they fought in Spain in the ranks of the Republican troops against Franco? We are completely and whole-heartedly for an independent (of Hitler as well as of Stalin) Soviet Ukraine. But what to do if, before having obtained(continued on next page.)

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this independence, Hitler attempts to seize the Ukraine which is under the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy? The Fourth International answers: Against Hitler we will defend this Ukraine enslaved by Stalin.

"UNCONDITIONAL DEFENCE OF THE U.S.S.R."

What does "unconditional" defense of the U.S.S.R mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social base of the U.S.S.R., if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism.

Some comrades say: "And if the Red Army tomorrow invades India and begins to put down a revolutionary movement there shall we in this case support it?" Such a way of posing a question is not at all consistent. It is not clear above all why India is implicated. Is it not simpler to ask: If the Red Army menaces workers' strikes or peasant protests against the bureaucracy in the U.S.S.R. shall we support it or not? Foreign policy is the continuation of the internal. We have never promised to support ALL the actions of the Red Army which is an instrument in the hands of the Bonapartist bureaucracy. We have promised to defend only the U.S.S.R. as a workers' state and solely those things within it which belong to a workers' state.

An adroit casuist can say: If the Red Army independently of the character of the "work" fulfilled by it, is beaten by the insurgent masses in India, this will weaken the U.S.S.R. To this we will answer: the crushing of a revolutionary movement in India, with the cooperation of the Red Army, would signify an incomparably greater danger to the social basis of the U.S.S.R. than an episodical defeat of counter-revolutionary detachments of the Red Army in India. In every case the Fourth International will know how to distinguish where and when the Red Army is acting solely as an instrument of the Bonapartist reaction and where it defends the social basis of the U.S.S.R.

A trade union led by reactionary fakers organizes a strike against the admission of Negro workers into a certain branch of industry. Shall we support such a shameful strike? Of course not. But let us imagine that the bosses, utilizing the given strike, make an attempt to crush the trade union and to make impossible in general the organized self-defense of the workers. In this case we will defend the trade union as a matter of course in spite of its reactionary leadership. Why is not this same policy applicable to the U.S.S.R.?

THE FUNDAMENTAL RULE

The Fourth International has established firmly that in all imperialist countries, independent of the fact as to whether they are in an alliance with the U.S.S.R. or in a camp hostile to it, the proletarian parties during the war must develop the class struggle with the purpose of seizing power. At the same time the proletariat of the imperialist countries must not lose sight of the interests of the U.S.S.R.'s defense (or of that of colonial revolutions) and in case of real necessity must resort to the most decisive action, for instance, strikes, acts of sabotage, etc. The groupings of the powers since the time the Fourth International formulated this rule have changed radically. But the rule itself retains all its validity. If England and France tomorrow menace Leningrad or Moscow, The British and French workers should take the most decisive measures in order to hinder the sending of soldiers and military supplies. If Hitler finds himself constrained by the logic of the situation to send Stalin military supplies, the German workers, on the contrary, would have no reason for resorting in this concrete case to strike or sabotage. Nobody, I hope, will propose any other solution.

"REVISION OF MARXISM"?

Some comrades evidently were surprised that I spoke in my article ("The U.S.S.R. in the War") of the system of "bureaucratic collectivism" as a theoretical possibility. They discovered in this even a complete revision of Marxism. This is an apparent misunderstanding. The Marxist comprehension of historical necessity has nothing in common with fatalism. Socialism is not realizable "by itself", but as a result of a struggle of living forces, classes and their parties. The proletariat's decisive advantage in this struggle resides in the fact that it represents historical progress, while the bourgeois incarnates reaction and decline. Precisely in this is the source of our conviction (cntd. on next page.)

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in victory. But we have full right to ask ourselves:What character will society take if the forces of reaction conquer? Marxists have formulated an incalculable number of times the alternative: Either Socialism or return to barbarism. After the Italian "experience" we repeated thousands of times:either communism or fascism.The real passage to socialism cannot fail to appear incomparably more complicated, more heterogeneous,more contradictory than was foreseen in the general historical scheme.Marx spoke about the dictatorship of the proletariat and its future withering away but said nothing about bureaucratic degeneration of the dictatorship. We have observed and analyzed for the first time in experience such a degeneration. Is this revision of Marxism?

The march of events has succeeded in demonstrating that the delay of the socialist revolution engenders the indubitable phenomena of barbarism--chronic unemployment, pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie, fascism, finally wars of extermination which do not open up any new road. What social and political forms can the new "barbarism take,if we admit theoretically that mankind should not be able to elevate itself to socialism? We have the possibility of expressing ourselves on this subject more concretely than Marx. Fascism on one hand,degeneration of the Soviet State on the other outline the social and political forms of a neo-barbarism.An alternative of this kind-socialism or totalitarian servitude--has not only theoretical interest. but also enormous importance in agitation, because in its light the necessity of socialist revolution appears most graphically.

If we are to speak of a revision of Marx it is in reality a revision of those comrades who project a new type of state,"non-bourgeois"and "non-worker". Because the alternative developed by me leads them to draw their own thoughts up to their logical conclusions, some of these critics,frightened by the conclusions of their own theory, accuse me...of revising Marxism. I prefer to think that it is simply a friendly jest.

CANADIAN ELECTIONS REVEAL ANTI-WAR TENDENCY

The Liberal vote of almost two and one-half million(54%)out of a total of four and one half million votes cast is considered by many bourgeois observers to indicate a strong anti-conscription tendency. Certainly, if one is to judge by pre-election propaganda, which was flooded with promises of "no conscription". this is true. Toronto's chief Tory paper, the Evening Telegram, commenting editorially on March 27th, goes much further:

> "Avalanche of votes which swept the King Government back into power is an emphatic declaration that the people of this country are not 'war conscious'... It is true that Manion emphatically repudiated conscription but he was the mouthpiece of the aggressive war party and opponents of conscription figured that if it ever came it would come from Manion and not from King with his strong Quebec following.
>
> "Probably the biggest vote ever recorded by women of the country was polled yesterday. That vote was 'against conscription'.
>
> "The vote which vindicated the King Government and pardoned all their grievous sins was an 'anti-war' vote."

TORY TELY SHOULD KNOW

The Telegram,which backed the Conservative Party's National Government candidates,here has hit on the underlying tendency revealed by the election result.The anti-war sentiment is pehaps not as conscious as the Telegram has painted it, yet apathy to the war was certainly a decisive factor in returning King to Ottawa. The Canadian people had no use for the "aggressive war party".

The one million four hundred thousand National Government votes (31%), probably represents the patriotic population. A union government to prosecute the war more vigorously could appeal only to the most backward layers of workers. However, not a few votes were probably gained by the muckraking tactics of Manion,who had a great deal to say about the rampant graft and patronage that exists in Ottawa with the (continued on next page.)

ELECTIONS REVEAL ANTI-WAR TENDENCY

increased spending for war.

It is an interesting commentary on the discrepency between voting sentiment and actual parliamentary representation when one realizes that the Conservatives have only 39 seats as against 178 for the Liberals out of a total of 245. In 1935 the Liberals had a landslide of 70% of all seats with but 47% of the vote, the Conservatives had only 15% of the seats with a 30% vote, while in 1930 the liberals had only 3% less votes than in 1935 with but half as many seats.

C.C.F. FAILED TO OFFER ALTERNATIVE

Of major importance to the working class is the failure of the C.C.F. to make any gains in the recent election. While they now have 8 seats as against 7 in the last house, their vote dropped from 397,000 in 1935 to 373,000 in the current election. Fewer C.C.F. candidates probably account for this decrease. At best, however, the previous 9% vote has remained static, which indicates that no progress has been made in the past five years. However, such a conclusion leaves much unsaid.

In its early days, the C.C.F. swept the country with seven league boots and had all the ear-marks of the coming mass farmer-labor party. There was a gradual breaking away from the old capitalist parties in favor of the C.C.F. In recent years the C.C.F. experienced encouraging successes in municipal and provincial elections. But the war changed all this. Scrapping overnight its pacifist "anti-war" position, it blazoned forth under the new leadership of M.J Coldwell as a full-blown social-patrictic organization. It vied with the bourgeois patriotic organizations in demonstrating its loyalty to the war. While the majority of the party membership remained opposed to the war, the Woodsworth pacifist tendency capitulated to the patriots, by failing to initiate a struggle against this flagrant violation of majority rights. This added not a little confusion to the election and was undoubtedly the greatest factor in contributing to the C.C.F. setback.

BIGGER AND BETTER PATRIOTISM?

Angus MacInnis, C.C.F. member from British Columbia, states his case as follows in the Federationist, British Columbia C.C.F. paper. issue of March 28th:

> "It seems to me that the C.C.F. in British Columbia allowed itself to be put on the defensive as regards its war policy. The logical and well-reasoned-out statement of the National Council was never put before the people as it should have been--AS A BETTER WAR POLICY PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT."(my emphasis, W.P.)

Here is the carefully worded apology of one of the chief spokesmen of the right wing,- that C.C.F. war policy was not presented as"better"(?) than that proposed by the government. Mr. MacInnis does not explain what he means by "better". But the anti-war elements in the C.C.F. will make it their business to find out. In sharp contrast to the Tory Telegram's analysis of the elections, MacInnis says: "If the vote is any indication of the state of mind of the people, and it must be accepted as such, the prosecution of the war in Europe is of more importance to the electors than that something should be done about poverty in Canada." Perhaps this explains the ambiguous formulation "better war policy", a forewarning of bigger and better patriotic slogans. However, the working class have answered MacInnis with their vote, and if they are misled by capitalist politicians, it is solely because MacInnis, Coldwell & Co. have sold themselves to the capitalist war-mongers, and the practical-minded worker can see little difference between one and the other.

SOCIAL CREDIT LOSES GROUND

Another interesting development is the setback to the Social Credit forces, who dropped from 15 to 9 seats, and lost 65,000 of their 1935 national vote of 182,000. While the Alberta provincial election which preceded the federal election by five days returned the Social Credit Government, it lost 11% of its provincial vote, dropping from 55% in 1935 to 44% in the recent Alberta election. The federal appeal, under the new name,"New Democracy", was distinctly less popular, as all the pro-war parties, it openly championed conscription. The disappearance of some 42,000 of Alberta's Social Credit provincial votes in the national elections can be explained in (continued on next page.)

ELECTIONS REVEAL ANTI-WAR TENDENCY

no other way. It polled 130,000 in the provincial elections, and dropped to 87,000 Alberta votes in the federal elections. Votes for all other parties were practically the same in both elections, as follows:

	Provincial, March 21st	Federal, March 26th
Independents (Liberal-Conservatives Union)-	132,000	Lib:98,500 Con:33,400 131,900
C.C.F.	31,700	33,400
Others	2,500	4,000

STALINISM GETS BIG SETBACK

The Stalinists with only 9 official candidates in the field, polled less than 13,000 votes, a miserable showing in relation to previous years. The severe police repressions made their campaign extremely difficult, but taking every compensating factor into consideration, the huge drop in votes can only be explained by a disillusionment with their shifting policies. Tim Buck, national secretary, for example, who polled 40,000 votes only two years ago in Toronto, was able to muster not more than 702 votes in a Hamilton riding.

On the whole, the soldiers' vote reflected the civilian vote. The slight majority in favor of National Government was no doubt due to the fact that a majority of the soldiers overseas came from large urban centers which have been traditionally Tory. In all other areas, the soldiers' vote favored the Liberals. The C.C.F. polled some 3,000 soldiers' votes out of approximately 56,000, which is not quite up to its 9% civilian vote.

FUTURE STRUGGLES FORECAST

The election results are a harbinger of the anti-war struggle of tomorrow. Quebec, which is traditionally anti-war, gave all of its 65 seats to the Liberals. The Conservative vote was insignificant in the West: the farmer has much to complain of against the war. The 5% drop in general vote (there were 100,000 more votes cast as against an increase of approximately 700,000 voters over the 1935 election) is probably explained by the lack of clear-cut issues which undoubtedly caused many to abstain from voting, in addition to the bad weather in the rural constituencies. There was not a single genuine working class anti-war candidate. The Defense of Canada Regulation would have brought about his arrest in short order. And the required $200.00 deposit in order to qualify is extremely difficult to raise at a time when the class-conscious anti-war current is so weak. The proletarian revolutionists face a big job in the coming period.

Wm. Pyper

Toronto, April 5, 1940.

FRANK WATSON FREED

ANTI-WAR MILITANT WAS FIRST VICTIM OF WAR DICTATORSHIP

After six months of incessant work the efforts of the Frank Watson Defence Committee have met with success. Its pressure on the immigration authorities removed the danger of Watson's deportation. Now, with the assistance of friends, the committee has secured his release.

This success in the case of Watson, however, does not mean that the committee's work is done. The committee was formed in the first place with the perspective of defending not only Watson, but also other cases that would be bound to arise under the War Measures Act. It realized that this work could be carried out most effectively by a single national organisation, rather than by the creation of more and more small groups. To this end, it has been negotiating for affiliation with the Toronto branch of the Civil Liberties Union But the Toronto branch of the C.L.U., re-organised and re-christened the Civil Liberties Association (to dissociate itself from the greater militancy of the Montreal branch) has become a more useless and inactive organization than ever. Composed of upper and middle class elements and under the virtual control of J.S.McLean of Canada Packers, it can and will do nothing for the defence of radical and anti-war elements. (cntd. on next page.)

Labor must form its own national organisation for the defense of its democratic rights.

NATIONAL DEFENCE BODY NEEDED

The Frank Watson Committee intends to continue activity along these lines, to work for the creation of a country wide organisation with provision for the affiliation of Trade Unions and other workers' organisations as well as individuals. The response to the committee's appeals in the case of Watson makes it clear that there is a strong basis for such a movement. Donations and promises of support are still pouring in from all over Canada, from individuals and groups, such as the Amalgamated Building Workers of Vancouver and the Vigilantes Class of Carlton St. United Church, Toronto. The Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council has been conducting a strong campaign in behalf of Watson and democratic rights in general. With such wide-spread support, the committee feels that its continued success is assured. Convinced of the need and the demand for a strong and non-partisan national organisation, distinct from the reactionary and useless C.L.U. on the one hand and the fake C.L.D.L. of the Stalinists on the other, the committee intends to carry on the fight for defence of victims of the war dictatorship and for the repeal of Sections 21, 39 and 39A of the Defence of Canada Regulations.

P.S .The committee has just received a contribution of $25.00 from a sympathetic individual in Toronto.

A DOCUMENTARY RECORD OF CCF WARMONGERING

COMPILED AND ANNOTED by Dege

The Federal election campaign has brought out the true colors of the CCF as clearly as a chemical formula brings to light an invisible ink. A review of the electoral speeches and programs clears away any doubts that might still exist as to the true patriotic nature of the CCF. In spite of Woodsworth's pious qualifications or the private opinions of the leaders spoken within the party, the CCF supports the prosecution of the war just as completely as do the other two parties of the Canadian bosses. In its official declaration in September at the outbreak of war the CCF promised only economic aid; this has since been interpreted to mean unstinting support of this new imperialist war for profits.

CCF members who are genuinely opposed to this war, can no longer afford to allow their leaders to present two fronts: to the public they declare themselves to be as patriotic as other boss parties, with certain limitations requiring the preservation of civil liberties at home; - to the party members they present an equivocal and deliberately confusing face, hoping thereby to retain the support of the large body of members who are opposed to the war. CCF members should declare within the party: enough of this equivocation! The chaff must be separated from the wheat. The war-mongering leadership must be replaced by rank and file militants who will not be frightened to come out in honest opposition to the war

PATRIOTISM AND PATRONAGE

The fact that the leadership have turned patriotic indicates its opportunist nature. Indeed the leadership hobnobs so freely with the capitalist politicians and is on such friendly terms with them that recently the NATIONAL ORGANIZER of the CCF, E.J.Garland, was handed an OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT POST. But let us look at the embarrassed explanation of the MANITOBA COMMONWEALTH, of Jan.19, 1940:

> "The appointment of the CCF National Organiser, Mr.E.J.Garland as secretary to the Canadian High Commissioner to Dublin came as a surprise to people outside as well as those inside the movement... Indeed if it were not for the tradition of political patronage in such appointments the matter would have no surprise to those who have followed Mr.Garland's career and know his great abilities."

You can bet your last dime that support of the war is one condition for receiving political patronage.

For the future historian here are a few documents that will (cntd. on next page.)

help pin the red, white and blue on the lapels of the CCF:

PRE-ELECTION TITBITS

"It is the considered opinion of the CCF that economic support is the best form of aid that Canada can give to the Allies. Sending large bodies of men overseas would disrupt those very industries now being utilized to help the Allies." (Harold Winch, CCF leader in the British Columbia legislature, as reported by the TORONTO STAR, Nov.15, 1939.)

Nothing like helping the bosses organise for the efficient prosecution of the war. In fact the CCF seems to be assuming the role of war-planning economist for the Fifty Big Shots.

"It is undoubtedly highly desirable that the war should be prosecuted as efficiently as possible, but there is no reason to believe that efficient effort can best be achieved by muffling any objection to the manner in which the war is being carried on." (Editorial, NEW COMMONWEALTH, Sept.21)

From British Columbia to Ontario the CCF hankers for the chance to show the capitalists how to run this war most efficiently. It reminds one of the story of the man who was opposed to capital punishment, once the murderer had the rope around his neck this opp-ositionist demanded the questionable privilege of seeing that the hanging was done prop-erly and as efficiently as possible. "From opposition to hangman" would be a good title for the war record of the CCF.

CHOICE MORSELS FROM THE HUSTINGS

"We must see to it that we defeat Hitlerism at home as well as abroad, and that when this war is over we have governments in power which will not make an unjust peace leading to an other war." (Lewis, CCF National Secretary, at Toronto, as reported by NEW COMMONWEALTH, Feb.1)

Lewis is the CCF ace equivicator—he never states clearly what he means but leaves it all to implication. Here he implies that the Allied imperialist powers wish to defeat Hitler for humanitarian reasons and omits to point out that the war is merely one between two gangs of thieves.

PATRIOTISM IN HIGH GEAR

The election propaganda distributed by the CCF shows the same deliberate decision to support the war.

"He is pledged to support a vigorous prosecution of the war against Hitlerism, with true equality of sacrifice, while maintaining Democracy at home."(Election letter by Luke Teskey supporttng J.Noseworthy as CCF candidate in South York.)

"VOTE TO DEFEAT HITLERISM AT HOME AND ABROAD! VOTE C.C.F.!
(Slogan at end of advertisement in TORONTO STAR.)

THE LAST STRAW

To those uninformed of the degree to which the CCF has actually been supporting the war it might seem that there is little more to be said. The damning evidence of its own words conclusively proves that the CCF believes just as fervently in the Allied cause and in the necessity of defeating Hitler through this bosses' war for profits as do Sir Henry Beatty or Col.Drew. But we cannot restrain ourselves from one last quotation. This time it is from a third of a page advertisement accepted by the Man. COMMONWEALTH (Jan.19) from the KING GOVERNMENT. The ad. runs as follows:

"A CALL TO SERVICE ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT

To your restless question, 'when can I help win this war'—
the answer is NOW. The Government of Canada has announced
the first war loan.....This is your opportunity to do your
part in this struggle against Hitlerism. BUY WAR BONDS"

And the CCF continues to call itself a socialist party whose policies are in the interests of the downtrodden!

LEFT WINGER FIGHTS RED-BAITING IN NEEDLE TRADES

In a local union in Toronto, the official C.P. members, faced with a bitter red-baiting campaign approached the Trotkyists for help. Our comrades' defence of the right of Stalinists to run for office and for the maintainance of union democracy against the onslaught of the right wing has lately created a sensation in the needle union. The following is the history of the incident.

The union, a local with about 800 members, was organized by the Stalinists during the days of the Workers'Unity League. With the failure of the Stalinists to consolidate the Toronto union by organizing the main open shop market of Montreal, the Trotskyites made a bloc with the right wing, to strive for unity in the International (A.F. of L.), in which organizaton is found the majority of needle workers. The Stalinists at first fought this proposal tooth and nail, as being contrary to the third period ultra-left line of organizing a new trade union center under the aegis of the W.U.L.With the change-about to the people's front policy,they found the joining of the International not only acceptable,but they even invited the right wing to join in the leadership and policies of the local.

As the right wing was too weak to accept all the places offered them by the Stalinists, the right wing asked three of our comrades to fill in the places they couldn't occupy, against the obvious attempts of the Stalinists to swamp them in the peoples' front idea. So while the Stalinists controlled the union organizationally, they let the right wing introduce compulsory arbritation and class collaboration policies to the detriment of the workers. This continued until the outbreak of war when the right wing,(the bloc of Right Paole Zion. Left Paole Zion, CCF and others), completely discredited in the eyes of the workers, proposed that the Stalinists should be removed from the ballot of the main positions of the union during the duration of the war.

OPPOSES DISCRIMINATION

Although the Stalinists still have a majority supporting them,when the right wing began their attack under the official leadership of the head office,the Stalinists became frantic with fear. After a number of indirect approaches to our comrade, they approached him officially with the following questons: 1) Are we supporting the red-baiting campaign? 2)Are we responsible for Sam M.? Our reply was:1)We are against the red-baiting campaign, even though we ourselves are opposed to the Stalinist trade union line. 2) Sam M. is not a member of the Trotskyists and we hold no responsibility for his actions.

The following is a summerized text of a speech made by our comrade in the executive of the union which made a very favorable impression on all the workers in the industry, especially, the rank and file Stalinists.

"The following is a brief summary of my point of view in the present crisis in the union I am unreservedly opposed to the removal of people from the ballot because of their opposition to the war, because to do so would destroy union democracy, the right of the majority, and would be open discrimination."

"The right of the majority to decide their leadership is the right of the membership in war as well as in peace. It is not only communists, but members of the whole labor movement who are opposed to war. Millard is a member of the CCF. There are people in the labor movement who see this war with all the capitalist nations as aggressors. The last war cost the lives of 20 millions and brought Fascism to two-thirds of the world. I hope this war will end with the labor movement not as victims but as the rulers of society."

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WAR(continued from page 2.)

working class for the final show-down;not only on the battlefields of Europe,but also at home. Out of the shambles of the Second World War well may come a Soviet Union cleansed of the Stalin burocracy and a World Socialist system. That must be our perspective.

FOURTH INTERNATIONALISTS GIVE LEAD: The capitalist press foamed with indignation when it reported recently that the Annual Conference of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Wharehousemen and Clerks in Britain went on record as opposed to the present Imperialist war. What they did not know was that the resolution was drawn up and presented by the Fourth Internationalists within the union. Our English comrades have given an inspiring example of how to conduct their work under war conditions.

---SOCIALIST ACTION---
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE OF CANADA
April 1941

Editorial Note:

This is the first edition of Socialist Action that has appeared since the late spring of 1940. The new editorial board promises the Canadian workers, that come what may, the Canadian organ of the 4th International shall henceforth appear regularly, at first as a monhly and later we hope as a bi-monthly. In this issue we are including a short sketch of the life and work of Leon Trotsky, founder of our international organization. Included also is the first installment of the Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution which was adopted at the emergency conference in May 1940. While this document has had a limited distribution in Canada in pamphlet form we feel that it is of vital importance as the only document dealing with the problems of this war and the revolution issued by any any international workers party.

Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution.

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution, convenes at the turning point of the second imperialist war. The stage of probing for openings, of making preparations and of relative military inactivity has been left far behind. Germany has unloosed all the furies of hell in a major offensive to which the Allies are replying in kind with all their forces of destruction. From now on the life of Europe and all of mankind will be determined for a long time by the course of the imperialist war and by its economic and political consequences.

The Fourth International considers that now is the time to say openly and clearly how it views this war and its participants, how it evaluates the war policies of various labor organizations, and, most important, what is the way out to peace, freedom and plenty.

The Fourth International turns not to the governments who have dragooned the peoples into the slaughter, nor to the bourgeois politicians who bear the responsibility for these governments, nor to the labor bureaucracy which supports the warring bourgeoisie. The Fourth International turns to the working men and women, the soldiers and sailors, the ruined peasants and the enslaved colonial peoples. The Fourth International has no ties whatsoever with the oppressors, the exploiters, the imperialists. It is the world party of the toilers, the oppressed, and the exploited. This Manifesto is addressed to them.

The General Causes of the Present War

Technology is infinitely more powerful now than at the end of the war of 1914-1918, whereas mankind is much more poverty-stricken. The standard of living has declined in one country after another. On the threshold of the present war, agriculture was in worse condition than at the outbreak of the last war. The agricultural countries are ruined. In the industrial countries the middle classes are being ravaged economically and a permanent sub-class of unemployed--modernpariahs-- has been formed. The domestic market has narrowed. The export of capital has been reduced. Imperialism has actually shattered the world market, breaking it up into spheres dominated by powerful individual countries. With the considerable increase in the population of the earth, the world trade of 109 states on our planet dropped almost one-fourth in the single decade prior to the present war. The turnover in foreign

continued on the next page

trade of some countries has been cut to one-half, one-third, and one--fourth.

The colonial countries are suffering from their own internal crises, and from the crises of the metropolitan centers. Backward nations which yesterday were still semi-free are today plunged into slavery (Abyssinia, Albania, China...). Every imperialist country must have its own sources of raw materials, above all for war, that is, for a new struggle for raw materials. In order to enrich themselves further, the capitalists are destroying and laying waste everything created by the labor of centuries.

The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees becomes a major problem for such a world power as the United States. In an era of aviation, telegraph, telephone, radio and television, travel from country to country is paralyzed by passports and visas. The period of the wasting away of foreign trade and the decline of domestic trade is at the same time the period of the monstrous intensification of chauvinism and especially of anti--semitism. In the epoch of its rise, capitalism took the Jewish people out of the ghetto and utilized them as an instrument in its commercial expansion. Today decaying capitalist society is striving to squeeze the Jewish people from all its pores; seventeen million individuals out of the two billion populating the globe, that is, less than one percent, can no longer find a place on our planet! Amid vast expanses of land and the marvels of technology, which has also conquered the skies for man as well as the earth, the bourgeoisie has managed to convert our planet into a foul prison.

Lenin and Imperialism

On November 1, 1914, at the beginning of the last imperialist war, Lenin wrote; "Imperialsm has placed the fate of European culture at stake. After this war, if a series of successful revolutions do not occur, more wars will follow--the fairy tale of a 'war to end all wars' is a hollow and pernicious fairy tale."...Workers, call this prediction to mind! The present war--the second imperialist war--is not an accident; it does not result from the will of this or that dictator. It was predicted long ago. It derived its origin inexorably from the contradictions of international capitalist interests. Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people, the chief cause of war as of all other social evils--unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression--is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation.

With the present level of technology and skill of the workers it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritu l development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and as long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character. State power and domination of economy can be torn from the hands of these rapacious imperialist cliques only by the revolutionary working class. That is the meaning of Lenin's warning that without "a series of successful revolutions" a new imperialist war would inevitably follow. The different predictions and promises which were made have been submitted to the test of events. The fairy.....

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Official Organ SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE SOCIALIST ACTION Canadian Section 4th International

1944 - Apr. p1

LEON TROTSKY — (Leon Trotsky assassinated)

On the evening of August 20 1940 Leon Trotsky, exiled Bolshevik leader, was brutally murdered by an agent of Stalin's dread G.P.U. Thus came to a close a brilliant career devoted passionately and tirelessly to the social revolution.

Few, if any, in the history of mankind have been subject to such slander and persecution as Leon Trotsky; from the right, centre and pseudo-left, from the Stalinists, from the non stalinist revisionists of Marxism and from the bourgeoisie.

Mad dog, fascist spy, agent provocateur, tool of EnglandFranceU.S.A. HearstGermany, ruthless totalitarian, egotist, careerist, gullible politician, individualist, etc.....

No one has born these slanders and lies with such fortitude and confidence in the value and correctness of his ideals as did Leon Trotsky. And no one by his actions has given the lie to such accusations as did Leon Trotsky.

Trotsky and the world party of the proletarian revolution, the 4th International, of which he was the most gifted spokesman, having taken upon themselves the task of defending, applying and developing the traditions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, automatically call down upon their heads the wrath and power of the bourgeoisie. But also in so doing, the 4th International comes to blows with the Stalinist buroaucracy and their international agents who have introduced new methods of attack and villification into the labor movement. The critics of Trotsky dare not attack him on a political plane but do so in the most despicable and deceitful methods. By alleged confessions of ex-co-workers tying him up with GermanBritishFrenchJapaneseAmerican imperialism. By the most thorough distortion of the history and traditions of the Bolshevik movement and the Russian Revolution. By the murder of his family and closest co-workers. By the disappearance of dozens of comrades in Spain and thousands of executions in the USSR.

The story of Trotsky's life, even from his earliest youth, is a story of struggle for the new social order. It would be futile here to relate his role in the Russian Revolutions of 1905-17 since it has been so ably done by John Reed and the historical records of that period; suffice it to say that the personality of Trotsky is inseparable from Lenin's and the Russian Revolution. However, due to the absence of successful revolutions in other countries, the backwardness of the Russian workers and peasants and Russian industry, the fatigue of the workers and the loss of some of the best cadresof the Bolshevik party, a parasitic caste raised itself on the back of the Soviet Republic. The Bolshevik party, the party which lead the peasants and workers to victory over the bourgeoisie, became a tool of the caste, and the Communist international a propaganda force for the buroaucracy's latest machinations. As early as 1923 Lenin and Trotsky joined hands to fight the rising buroaucracy. The situation, aided by the loss of Lenin gradually became worse. The buroaucracy manoeuvred and isolated this and that person in the party, pursued mistaken policies on the international and national field, revised party history and as the internal problems became sharper struck fiercely at the Left Opposition which had crystallized around Trotsky. Many were imprisoned, some escaped by suicide, some recanted and Trotsky who refused to do so was exiled to Central Asia and finally expelled from the USSR in January of 1929.

Prior to that, some international contacts had been made and upon expulsion he managed to rally many prominent leaders of the C.I. around himself. But to criticize the policies of the C.I. and to struggle for Bolshevik principles within the organization meant immediate expulsion and Trota[illegible] the heresy of all her-

esics. The various sections underwent various operations and a new party leadership of lickspittles and careerists was built up. In 1938 Trotsky played a leading role in the formation of the 4th International with sections in nearly every country in the world. As his name is inseparable from the Russian Revolution so it is from the history of the Left Opposition and the 4th International.

During the priod of 1928-38 Trotsky almost alone carried on the struggle to preserve the traditions of Marxism from the onslaughts of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism. In his theoretical works of that period never before had Marxist analysis been so completely verified, never has marxist theory shown its ability to analyse events and point out the way as it did in Trotsky's hands.

As capitalism retches and convulses in its death agonies the struggle to destroy the 4th International becomes all the more necessary for the Stalinist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie, both democratic and fascist. For as the bourgeoisie will be overthrown so shall the Moscow clique.

The murder of Leon Trotsky is but one of many attacks of that nature on our organization and it will not be the last. But we are not easily frightened, we shall go on to the end, through the fire of the bourgeoisie and the terror of the assassins of the Moscow clique. Armed with the traditions of Marxism and the revolutionary fervour of Trotsky we shall build the new world.

Socialism in Canada--a monument to Leon Trotsky.

DO GERMAN WORKERS SUPPORT HITLER

Essen in flames! Hamburg destroyed! We often see such headlines. The British government bombs German working class areas in order to destroy the war industries.

Some people wonder what the workers reaction is to the British leaflets urging the overthrow of Hitler so as to end the war and prevent their homes from becoming shambles. After 8 years of Nazi oppression they might well expect that discontent in Germany could be utilized. Yet there is no effective sign of it. What has Hitler given the German workers to make them tolerate the destruction of their cultural, political and economic organizations---the lowering of the standard of living and the loss of civil liberties, etc.??????????????

In 1932, the year before Hitler came to power, Hamburg, a city of 1,500,000 people had 208.000 unemployed. Those employed received miserable wages, for instance, in the shipyards 20 cents an hour for 2 days work a week. In the whole of Germany the unemployed with their dependants numbered 18 million out of a population of 60 million. In the Germany of 1932 that meant 60 cents a week to feed each person dependant on relief. Whole factories were idle. Men and women collapsed on the street from hunger.

Hunger was the spectre that stalked through Europe. That was Capitalist democracy. Another spectre stalked through Europe-Communism And another---Fascism.....

The Social-Democrats tied to the political machine of the bourgeoisie and bent on the reformation of this capitalist democracy offered the workers little and 6.000.000 Germans voted for Communism. Big German industrialists, frightened, subsidized Hitler's thugs. As long as the Nazis increased their vote the Communists were held in check, but in the last free election in Germany the Nazis lost votes and the Communists gained. The industrialists realized they could no longer afford democracy for with the decline of Nazism the workers had the opportunity to seize power. The social democrats impotently stood by

while Hitler began to smash [illegible]
The Communists for years bewildered the workers by their putchist tactics and their violent attacks on other working class organizations. At the critical moment the workers were helplessly divided. The industrialists jumped at the chance and compelled President Hindenburg to call in Hitler as Reich chancellor------the terror began. Destitution and desperation caused fascism. But for the capitalists, the stupidity of the Communist's policies and the senility of the Social democrats it would have led to socialism and no war in 1939-41

What has Hitler given the German workers since 1932? Jobs, Jobs and again Jobs! He has done away with unemployment. He did it at the cost of murders, betrayals, lies, and the political enslavement of other countries----but to the unemployed German he gave; food, clothing, warmth, shelter and a semblance of security.

That is why Hitler is supported.

But do not sneer at the German worker. Rather let us say; "There, but for the beggary and destitution of the coloured peoples of the British Empire go I". Never, since the British became victors , has there been freedom for the 360.000.000 peoples in India. Since 1827 there has been arrest and imprisonment without trial; women work in coal mines for 9 cents a day; the Viceroy, an appointed official, has an absolute veto and an alien army to enforce it which makes him a greater dictator than Hitler; Indian leaders are jailed; prisoners are beaten to death or never heard of again; the people are subject to periodical massacres and police bombings-----Lord Londonderry, reporting in the British Parliament on his activities at the abortive Disarmament Conference at Geneva said; "I had the utmost difficulty in preserving the use of bombing planes for police purposes." These words should be painted on every air-raid shelter in Britain.

But do not sneer at the German worker. Let us remember the South African Negro who is still herded into the Ghettos, they call them locations there, and can not leave without a pass; he has no vote; he can not work at certain jobs and is fortunate to earn 3 dollars a month.

Before we sneer at the German worker let us ask ourselves what WE have to offer THEM. What has the British government to offer them? The British government offers them capitalist democracy. The German worker is not impressed. He does not forget the lean years of German capitalist democracy. We of the British Empire have not forgotten the depression. In Germany it was far worse because of super-industrialization, dense population and no reserve of cheap coloured labour.

For Germany to return to capitalist democracy would be to return to the Germany of 1932 At that time the question was Fascism or Socialism To-day it is the same.

The vast expenditures of war are rapidly creating a situation where the economic position of the "democratic" countries will be similar to that of the pre-Hitler Germany. The war is being financed by loans and the sale of interest bearing investments in other countries. When the war is over Canada and Britain will have more debts and fewer assets. The standard of living will drop drastically and as the workers seek for a solution in the restriction of big business, big business will discover that it can no longer afford "democracy". Every attempt will be made to hamper and destroy; Trade Unions, Co-operative and Consumer's Societies Labour and Socialist organizations, freedom of the press, assembly, etc...

They may call it by a different name, but it will really be Fascism.

There is only one alternative-----SOCIALISM.

When the capitalist refuses to run the factories in the interests of the country--socialize them. Workers must defend their means of earning a living

Now the bosses know what will happen as well as we do and they will use every trick possible, under the guise of patriotism and war emergency to get the workers to surrender their organizations NOW so as to leave them helpless at the [illegible] of the war...Do not be taken in.

Join you Consumer [illegible] cost of living

6

Join your Consumer Associations against the rising cost of living!
Join your Co-operative Societies!
Fight for your Trade Union rights now!
Fight for a higher standard of living NOW!
Fight for freedom of speech and freedom of the press NOW!
Fright for free political organization NOW!

CANADA AT WAR

"Workers are falling--Profits are rising! If,as yet,there have been few casualities among the Canadian troops the last part of the above quote is very true of the Canadian scene. The first part will be fulfilled soon. Once more the words of the old Marxists,in this case Rosa Luxemburg,are proving to be true. The fiction of The War to End War, The War for Democracy, The War to Preserve Liberty and the Canadian Standard of Living,sounds hollow when held up to the facts and development of events at home.

Over 70 Trade Union leaders have been interned(thrown into concentration camps)without trial. Every vestige of free speech and freedom of the press has disappeared. Membership in any revolutionary political party,including the Communist Party,and many cultural and fraternal organizations is punished by internment under Section 21 of the Defense of Canada Regulations. Casual remarks in beer gardens have brought stiff fines and sentences of several months in prison under Section 39 of the same decrees.

Democracy was the first victim of the war.The Canadian standard of living the next. The cost of living,according to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics,had increased in January 1941 to the high mark of 108.3---representing an increase since the beginning of the war of 17.3%. These are the figures for the general cost of living. The food index rose even higher to 109.7. Coupled with the 2% defense tax on wages plus the terrific pressure on the worker to buy War Saving Certificates regularly (in many cases workers are told to buy or lose their jobs) plus the lowered exemptions for income taxes,many workers find their real wages cut as much as 25% since the beginning of the war.

While real wages fall---profits rise. Before the war the air was blue with talk about the conscription of wealth,a subject rarely mentioned now.Profits soar to dizzy heights in spite of excess profits tax of 75% Dividends of Lakeshore Mines for 1940 reached $4.000.000.Eighty-eight mining companies report dividends paid during 1940 of 104,662,617 dollars an increase of more than four million over 1939. Canadian Car and Foundry Co. turned a loss of $50.000 in 1939 into a profit of $1,444.000 in 1940. This company produces Hurricanes. In numerous cases , super profits are hidden by writing off new government financed plant additions and equipment in four years as costs. Predicting an even better year for cupon-clippers than in 1940,due to better organization for war time, a report in the Toronto Star of Feb. 18th lists some of the percentage earnings of representative companies;General Steel Wares 7.78%,Burlington Steel 10.6%,Hinde & Dauch 17.06% etc... Thirty Canadian corporations showed a gain of 17,749,568 dollars over 1939 reports and average profits of 4½ million a piece.

Recently the Minister of Finance in his budget speech told the nation that he intended to spend at least two billion three hundred million dollars this year on the war---more than Canada spent in the 4 years of the last war. Another billion will be spent to buy up British investments in order to maintain her credit here. This report was coupled with rumours of drastically increased taxes on the workers,probably feelers for new increases in the defense tax on wages. These tax increases are obvious when you consider that this war budget amounts to more than

half the national income of the country.

We Marxists have predicted these events for years pointing out to the workers that only the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers state could solve the problems of War, Unemployment and Fascism. Every day this truth becomes more apparent.

The patriotic leader of the C.C.F., Mr. Coldwell, calls for 100% tax on excess profits in place of the 75%. The Reformist party of Canada apparently reconciles itself with profits made out of the sweat and blood of the Canadian workers and soldiers...But please Mr. Capitalist don't make excess profits!

The Communist Party, aside from carrying on very valuable legal civil liberties agitation, pursues its old treacherous Popular Front line in the Trade Unions. They are attempting, through their stooges, to bring into being a Canadian edition of the phoney Peoples Convention recently held in London. The Stalin-Hitler Pact has changed their former support of Democratic Imperialism into a support of Hitler but their essential reactionary bureaucratic line can be seen clearly through the veil of left phrases.

Only the boldest revolutionary line can maintain the independent character of the Trade Union movement and lead it forward to the solution of the immense tasks which face it. To organize the basic industries of Canada, now declared War Industries, were thousands of workers are forbidden to move from their jobs, will require a leadership which is prepared to fight against the whole resources of the state. The old leadership is helpless. It appeals to the government to organize the workers for them. The young workers pouring into the war industries, working for as low as 35 cents an hour, can only be lead in this struggle by slogans which will give them something to fight for.

Women and girls are rapidly being absorbed into industry, taking over in large numbers jobs which heretofor had been done only by men, and are being used to lower wage standards on these jobs. The slogan of Equal Wages for Equal Work will find plenty of support from the soldier's wives and sweethearts now working in the war industries and is the only way to maintain even the present standard of living.

The workers, under constant pressure to sacrifice themselves by working harder and longer, paying defense tax, buying war saving stamps, contributing to the Red Cross, are resentful after 10 years of depression. The answer they are looking for is not a 100% tax on excess profits but the Nationalization of Production under Worker's Control.

MANIFESTO OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

continued from page 2

tale of the "war to end all wars" has been proved a lie. Lenin's prediction has become a tragic truth.

The immediate cause of the present war is the rivalry between the old wealthy colonial empires, Great Britain and France, and the belated Imperialist plunderers, Germany and Italy.

The nineteenth century was the era of the incontestable hegemony of the oldest capitalist power, Great Britain. From 1815 to 1914-true enough, not without isolated military explosions--"British peace" reigned. The British fleet, mightest in the world, played the role of policeman of the seas. This era, however, has receded into the past. As early as the end of the last century, Germany, armed with modern technology, began to move forward to first place in Europe. On the other side of the ocean an even more powerful country arose, a former British colony. The most important economic contradiction which led to the war of 1914-18 was the rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. As for the United States, its participation in the war was of a preventive character--Germany could not be permitted to subjugate the European continent.

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The defeat humil[illegible]. Dismembered, encircled by enemies, bankrupted by indemnities, weakened by convulsions of civil war, she appeared to be out of the running for a long time to come, if not for ever. On the European continent, first violin turned up temporarily in the hands of France. For victorious England, the balance sheet of the war left in the last analysis liabilities; increasing independence of the dominions; colonial movements for independence; loss of naval hegemony; lessening of the importance of her navy through the development of aviation.

Through inertia England still attempted to play the leading role on the world arena in the first few years after victory. Her conflicts with the United States began to assume an obvious threatening character. It seemed as though the next war would flare up between the two Anglo-Saxon aspirants to world domination. England, however, soon had to convince herself that her specific economic weight was inadequate for combat with the colossus across the ocean. Her agreement with the United States on naval equality signified formal renunciation of naval hegemony, already lost in actuality. Her replacement of free trade by tariff walls signified open admission of the defeat of British industry on the world market. Her renunciation of the policy of "splendid isolation" drew in its wake the introduction of compulsory military service. Thus all sacred traditions were dusted away.

A similar lack of correspondence between her economic weight and her world position is characteristic of France too, but on a smaller scale. Her hegemony in Europe rested on a temporary conjuncture of circumstances created by the annihilation of Germany and the artificial combinations of the Versailles Treaty. The size of her population and the economic foundation supporting this hegemony were far too inadequate. When the hypnosis of victory wore off, the real relationship of forces surged to the surface. France proved to be much weaker than she had appeared not only to her friends but to her enemies. Seeking cover, she became in essence Great Britain's latest dominion.

Germany's regeneration on the basis of her first rate technology and organizational abilities was inevitable. It came sooner than was thought possible, in large measure thanks to England's support of Germany against the USSR, against the excessive pretensions of France and, more remotely against the United States. Such international combinations proved successful for capitalist England more than once in the past so long as she remained the strongest power. In her senility she proved incapable of dealing with those spirits she had herself evoked.

Armed with a technology, more modern, of greater flexibility, and of higher productive capacity, Germany once again began to squeeze England out of very important markets, particularly southeastern Europe and Latin America. In Contrast to the nineteenth century, when the competition between capitalist countries developed on an expanding world market, the economic arena of struggle today is narrowing down so that nothing remains open to the imperialists except tearing pieces of the world market away from each other.

The initiative for the new re-division of the world this time as in 1914 belonged naturally to German imperialism. Caught off guard the British government first attempted to buy its way out of war by concessions at the expense of others (Austria, Czecho-Slovakia). But this policy was short lived. "Friendship" with Great Britain was only a brief tactical phase for Hitler. London had already conceded Hitler more than he had calculated on getting. The Munich agreement through which Chamberland hoped to seal a long time friendship with Germany led, on the contrary to a hastening of the break. Hitler could expect nothing more from London-further expansion of Germany would strike at the life lines of Britain herself. Thus "the new era of peace" proclaimed by Chamberlain in October 1938 led within a few months to the most terrible of all wars.

to be continued in next issue

SOCIALIST ACTION

MAY 1941

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE
CANADIAN SECTION OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL----

we, the workers of Canada, were presented on the eve of May Day the biggest budget in the history of this country. A budget made necessary, we are told, by this war that is being waged against Hitlerism. A war in the declaration of which we had no vote and in whose management we have no hand. This budget, we are told, is an equitable one. "We must all share in the cost, for if Hitler wins will we not lose everything; Capital - her freedom of enterprise; Labor - her right to organize and her present standard of living?"

CAPITAL

A casual glance over the financial pages of the daily press shows that tremendous profits are being made. The net profits of 28 companies with operating profits of a million or more, after providing for depreciation, income taxes and deductions for reserves, were over 15½ million dollars greater in 1940 than in 1939. The percentage increase in 1940 earnings over 1938, after deducting income taxes, for: Penman's (hosiery, etc.) was 78. Price Bros. (pulp paper) was 74. Canada Iron Foundries - 155. Ogilvie Flour mills - 85. Sherwin & William (Paints) - 76. Indeed Canada may now boast of 483 millionaires, 26 more than the year before.

LABOR

In view of the boom that capital enjoys one might think that labor too would get a finger in the pie. The facts however, point to the contrary. These fantastic profits are being made not only through the plight of the European working class, British, German, French, etc., but at the tremendous costs to ourselves. As a result of speed up systems and workers not being sufficiently trained for their jobs, thenumber of industrial accidents has increased by 50%. The wage index has remained almost stationary, showing only fractional gains in the metal and building trades, while hours steadily increase and working conditions become more deplorable - and WHO PAYS?????

Since capital is reaping such rich rewards for her war effort probably the new budget will be drawn up so as to make her pay her fair share -- but let us thumb through the budget. Aside from increases on gift taxes, cuts in exemptions for charitable donations and an increase of the excess profits tax flat rate from 12% to 22%, making the maximum 40%, we find that there is a new tax of 3 cents per gallon on gasoline, a 20% tax on motion picture entertainment, 10% tax on railway tickets, a sharp increase on the tax on playing cards, pocket lighters, paper cigarette tubes, cosmetic and toilet preparations, sugar and glucose -- and last but far from least, the National Defence Tax has been increased from 3% to 7% on single persons getting over $1200 and from 2% to 5% on all others. Who is to bear this enormous tax burden? Who is the budget aimed at? The working class -- the class least able to bear it. The new budget can be understood only as a direct attack at the Canadian workers' standard of living -- whose average yearly income is $875 which the Welfare Council computes as being $225 lower than the minimum for "health and decency".

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT??????

On May Day 1941 the Canadian workers are faced with the most serious situation since the origin of this international demonstration. Not only must we continue the old struggle for the 8 hour day, in the face of 10 and 12 hour shifts 7 days a week, but we must defend our organizations and our press from the onslaughts of capital. Under the so-called Defence of Canada Regulations the entire left wing presshas been forced underground and dozens of our leading trade unionists have been interned without trial. The cost of living since the beginning of the war has increased almost 8% with negligible increases in wages. Do we sacrifice all this that: "Democracy might live", For Liberty, Equality", "For a New World". Is Canadian youth to shed its

blood that 26 new millionaires be made?

Not another inch will we yield. This day, dedicated to the international solidarity of the working class, we raise our voice to our brother workers in all countries. Down with the bosses, democratic and fascist. Down with their hirelings, the Churchills, Hitlers, Roosevelts and Mussolinis. We shall not surrender any of our rights but shall go forward, hand in hand with the 560 million slaves of the British and French Colonial Empires and our oppressed comrades in Germany, Italy and Japan. Down with this world of war, hunger and insecurity. FORWARD UNDER THE BANNER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. FORWARD TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF MANKIND -- TO A WORLD OF PEACE AND PLENTY.

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MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ON THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

Cont'd From Last Issue.

THE UNITED STATES

... while Great Britain has exerted every effort since the first months of the war to seize blockaded Germany's vacated positions in the world market, the United States has almost automatically been driving Great Britain out. Two-thirds of the world's gold is concentrated in the American vaults. The remaining third is flowing to the same place. England's role as banker for the world is a thing of the past. Nor are matters in other spheres much better. While Great Britain's navy and merchant marine are suffering great losses the American shipyards are building ships on a colossal scale which will secure the predominance of the American fleet over the British and the Japanese. The United States is obviously preparing to adopt the two power standard (a navy stronger than the combined fleets of the next two strongest powers). The new program for the air fleet envisages securing the superiority of the United States over all the rest of the world.

However, the industrial, financial and military strength of the United States, the foremost capitalist power in the world, does not at all insure the blossoming of American economic life, but on the contrary, invests the crisis of her social system with an especially malignant and convulsive character. Gold in the billions cannot be made use of nor can the millions of unemployed! In the theses of the Fourth International, "War and the Fourth International", published six years ago, it was predicted: "Capitalism in the United States is running head on into those problems which impelled Germany in 1914 upon the road of war..... For Germany it was a question of 'organizing' Europe. For the United States it is a question of 'organizing' the world. History is taking mankind directly into the volcanic eruption of American imperialism."

The "New Deal" and the "Good Neighbor" policy were the final attempts to postpone the climax by ameliorating the social crisis through concessions and agreements. After the bankruptcy of this policy, which swallowed up tens of billions, nothing else remained for American imperialism but to resort to themethod of the mailed fist. Under one or another pretext and slogan the United States will intervene in the tremendous clash in order to maintain its world dominion. The order and the time of the struggle between American capitalism and its enemies is not yet known -- perhaps even by Washington. War with Japan would be a struggle for "living room" in the Pacific Ocean. War in the Atlantic, even if directed immediately against Germany, would be a struggle for the heritage of Great Britain.

The potential victory of Germany over the Allies hangs like a nightmare

over Washington. With the European continent and the resources of its colonies as her base, with all the European munition factories and shipyards at her disposal, Germany especially in combination with Japan in the Orient would constitute a mortal danger for American imperialism. The present titanic battles on the fields of Europe are in this sense preparatory episodes in the struggle between Germany and America. France and England are only fortified positions of American capitalism, extended beyond the Atlantic. If the frontiers of England are located on the Rhine, as one of the British premiers put it, then the American imperialists might well say that the frontiers of the United State are on the Thames. In its feverish preparation of public opinion for the coming war, Washington does not spare noble indignation over the fate of Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium..... With the occupation of Denmark the question of Greenland arose unexpectedly as being "geologically" a part of the Western hemisphere and containing by happy chance deposits of cryolite, indispensable in the production of aluminum. Nor does Washington overlook enslaved China, the helpless Philippines, the orphaned Dutch Indies, and open sea routes. Thus philanthropic sympathies for oppressed nations and even considerations of geology are driving the United States into war.

The American armed forces, however, could intervene successfully only so long as France and the British Isles remain solid bases of support. Should France be occupied and German troops appear on the Thames, the relationship of forces would shift drastically to the disadvantage of the United States. Washington is forced by these considerations to speed up all the tempos but likewise to ponder the question: Has the opportune moment not been missed?

Against the offical position of the White House are launched the noisy protests of American isolationism which is itself only another variety of the very same imperialism. The section of the capitalists whose interests are bound up primarily with the American continent, Australia, and the Far East calculate that in the event of the defeat of the Allies, the United States would automatically gain a monopoly for its own benefit not only of Latin America but also of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As for China, the Dutch Indies and the Orient in general, it is the conviction of the entire ruling class of the United States, that war with Japan is in any case inevitable in the near future. Under the guise of isolationism and pacifism, and influential section of the bourgeoisie is working out a program for American continental expansion and preparing for the struggle with Japan. War against Germany for the domination of the world, according to this plan, is only deferred. As for petty-bourgeois pacifists such as Norman Thomas and his fraternity, they are only choir boys in one of the imperialist clans.

Our struggle against United States intervention into the war has nothing in common with isolationism and pacifism. We tell the workers openly that the imperialist government cannot fail to drag this country into war. The dispute within the ruling class involves only the question, when to enter the war and against whom to level the fire first. To count upon holding the United States to neutrality by means of newspaper articles and pacifist resolutions is like trying to hold back the tide with a broom. The real struggle against war means the class struggle against imperialism and a merciless exposure of petty-bourgeois pacifism. Only revolution could prevent the American bourgeoisie from intervening in the second imperialist war or beginning the third imperialist war. All other methods are either charlatanism or stupidity or a combination of both.

The Defense of the "Fatherland"

Almost a hundred years ago when the national state still represented a

relatively progressive factor, the Communist manifesto proclaimed that the proletarians have no fatherland. Their only goal is the creation of the toilers' fatherland embracing the whole world. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the bourgeois state with its armies and tariff walls became the worst brake on the development of productive forces which demand a much more extensive arena. A socialist who comes out today for the defense of the "fatherland" is playing the same reactionary role which was played by the peasants of the Vendee who rushed to he defense of the feudal regime, that is, of their own chains.

In recent years and even months, the world has observed with astonishment how easily states vanish from the map of Europe: Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Albania, Pland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium..... The political map has been reshaped with equal speed in no other epoch save that of the Napoleonic wars. At that time it was a question of outlived feudal states which had to give way before the bourgeois national state. Today it is a question of outlived bourgeois states which must give way before the socialist federation of the peoples. The chain breaks as always at its weakest link. The struggle of the imperialist bandits leaves as little room for independent small states as does the vicious competition of trusts and cartels for small indpendent manufacturers and merchants.

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Because of its strategic position Germany considers it more profitable to attack its main enemies hrough the small and neutral countries. Great Britain and France on the contrary deem it more profitable to cover themselves with the neutrality of the small states and let Germany drive them through her blows into the camp of the "democratic" allies. The gist of the matter is not altered by this difference in strategic methods. Between the cog-wheels of the great imperialist countries the small satellites are being ground to dust. The "defense" of the huge fatherlands requires the overthrow of a dozen small and middle-sized ones.

But even with regard to the large states what isinvolved for the bourgeoisie is not at all a question of defending the fatherland but rather markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. The bourgeoisie never defends the fatherland for the sake of the fatherland. They defend private property, privileges, profits. Whenever these sacred values are threatened, the bourgeoisie immediately takes to the road of defeatism. That was the way of the Russian bourgeoisie, whose sons after the October revolution fought and are once again ready to fight in every army in the world against their own former fatherland. In order to save their capital,the Spanish bourgeoisie turned to Mussolini and Hitler for military aid against their own people. The Norwegian bourgeoisie aided Hitler'sinvasion of Norway. Thus it always was and always will be.

Official patriotism is a mask for the exploiting interests. Class conscious workers throw thismask contemptuously aside. They do not defend the bourgeois fatherland, but the interests of the toilers and the oppressed of their own country and of the entire world. The theses of the Fourth International state: "against the reactionary slogan of 'national defense' it is necessary to counterpose the program of the Socialist United States of Europe as a stage on the road to the Socialist United States of the world."

THE "STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY"

No less a lie is the slogan of a war for democracy against Fascism, as if the workers have forgotten that the British government helped Hitler and his hangman's crew gain power! The imperialist democracies are in reality the greatest aristocracies in history. England, France, Holland, Belgium rest on the enslavement of colonial peoples. The democracy of the United States rests

upon the seizure of the vast wealth of an entire continent. All the efforts of these "democracies" are directed toward the preservation of their privileged position. A considerable portion of the war burden is unloaded by imperialist democracies onto their colonies. The slaves are obliged to furnish blood and gold in order to insure the possibility of their masters remaining slaveholders. The small capitalist democracies without colonies are satellites of the great empires and glean a portion of their colonial profits. The ruling classes of these states are ready to renounce democracy at any moment in order to preserve their privileges.

In the case of tiny Norway the inner mechanics of decaying democracy have once again been revealed before the whole world. The Norwegian bourgeoisie made simultaneous use of the social-democratic government and the Fascist policemen, judges and officers. At the first serious impact, the democratic heads were swept away and the Fascist bureaucracy, which immediately found a common language with Hitler, became master of the house. With different national variations this same experiment was previously performed in Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and a number of other states. In a moment of danger the bourgeoisie has always been able to free from democratic trappings the real apparatus of its rule as the direct instrument of finance capital. Only the hopelessly blind are capable of believing that the British and French generals and admirals are waging a war against Fascism!

The war has not halted the process of the transformation of democracies into reactionary dictatorships but on the contrary is carrying this process to its conclusion before our very eyes.

Within every country as well as on the world arena, the war strengthened immediately the most reactionary groups and institutions. The general staffs, those nests of Bonapartist conspiracy, the malignant dens of the police, the gangs of hired patriots, the churches of all creeds are immediately pushed to the forefront. The Papal Court, the focal point of obscurantism and hatred among men, is being wooed from all sides, especially by the Protestant President Roosevelt. Material and spiritual decline always brings in its wake police oppression and an increased demand for the opium of religion.

Seeking to gain the advantages of a totalitarian regime, the imperialist democracies launch their own defense with a redoubled drive against the working class and the persecution of revolutionary organizations. The war danger and now the war itself is utilized by them first and foremost to crush internal enemies. The bourgeoisie invariably and unswervingly follows the rule: "The main enemy is in one's own country."

As is always the case, the weakest ones suffer the most. The weakest ones in the present slaughter of the peoples are the countless refugees from all countries, among them the revolutionary exiles. Bourgeois patriotism manifests itself first of all in the brutal treatment of defenseless foreigners. Before the concentration camps for war prisoners were built, all the democracies constructed concentration camps for the revolutionary exiles. The governments of the entire world, particularly the government of the USSR, have written the blackest chapter in our epoch through their treatment of the refugees, the exiles, the homeless. We send our warmest greetings to our imprisoned and persecuted brothers and tell them not to lose heart. From the capitalist prisons and concentration camps will come most of the leaders of tomorrow's Europe and the world!

THE WAR SLOGANS OF THE NAZIS

Hitler's official slogans in general do not warrant examination. The struggle for "national unification" has long since been known a lie, for Hitler is converting the national state into a state of many nations, trampling

under foot the liberty and unity of other peoples. The struggle for "living room" is nothing but camouflage for imperialist expansion, that is, the policy of annexation and plunder. The racial justification for this expansion is a lie; National Socialism changes its racial sympathies and antipathies in accordance with strategic considerations. A somewhat more stable element in fascist propaganda is, perhaps, anti-semetism, which Hitler has given a zoological form, discovering the true language of "race" and "blood" in the dog's bark and the pig's grunt. Not for nothing did Frederick Engels label anti-semetism the "socialism of idiots" ! The sole feature of fascism which is not counterfeit is its will to power, subjugation, and plunder. Fascism is a chemically pure distillation of the culture of imperialism.

The democratic governments, who in their day hailed Hitler as a crusader against Bolshevism, now make him out to be some kind of Stan unexpectedly loosed from the depths of Hell, who violates the sanctity of treaties, boundary lines, rules and regulations. If it were not for Hitler the capitalist world would blossom like a garden. What a miserable lie! This German epileptic with a calculating machine in his skull and unlimited power in his hands did not fall from the sky or come up out of Hell: He is nothing but the personification of all the destructive forces of imperialism. Just as Genghis Khan and Tamerlane appeared to the weaker pastoral peoples as destroying scourges of God, whereas in reality they did nothing but express the need of all the pastoral tribes for more pasture land the the plunder of settled areas, so Hitler, rocking the old colonial powers to their foundations, does nothing but give a more finished expression to the imperialist will to power. Through Hitler, world capitulism, driven to desperation by its own impasse, has begun to press a razor-sharp dagger into its own bowels.

The butchers of the second imperialist war will not succeed in transforming Hitler into a scapegoat for their own sins. Before the judgement bar of the proletariat all the present rulers will answer. Hitler will do no more than occupy first place among the criminals in the dock.

THE PREPONDERANCE OF GERMANY

Whatever may be the war's outcome, the preponderance of Germany has already been clearly shown. Unquestionably Hitler fails to possess any secret "new" weapons". But the perfection of all the different existing weapons and the well-coordinated combination of these weapons - on the basis of a more highly rationalized industry - lends German militarism enormous weight. Military dynamics is closely bound up with the peculiar features of a totalitarian regime: unity of will, concentrated initiative, secrecy of preparation, suddenness of execution. The peace of Versailles, moreover, has done the allies a poor service. After fifteen years of German disarmament Hitler was compelled to start building an army from nothing, and thanks to this the army is free of routine and does not have to drag along obsolete technique and equipment. The tactical training of troops is inspired by new ideas based on the latest word in technology. Apparently only the United States is destined to surpass the German murder machine.

The weakness of France and Great Britain was not unexpected. The theses of the Fourth International (1934) state: "The collapse of the League of Nations is indissolubly bound up with the beginning of the collapse of French hegemony on the European continent". This programmatic document declares further that "England's rulers are increasingly less capable of carrying out their plans," that the British bourgeoisie is "alarmed by the disintegration of its empire, the revolutionary movement in India, the instability of its positions in China." The power of the Fourth International lies in this, that its program is capable of withstanding the test of great events.

(TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE)

SOCIALIST ACTION
Official Organ SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE Canadian Section 4th International

May 1941 p. 1

CANADA AT WAR --- CONSCRIPTION

ed. note: This is the second of a series of articles applying the transitional slogans of the program of the Fourth International to the Canadian scene.

Canada, as part of the anglo-american Imperialist bloc, is involved in a total war with the Axis powers. This war we have characterized as an imperialist war. The fight for expansion on the economic field could no longer be settled by diplomacy and the carefully prepared armies took the field. While the champions of democracy suppress democratic rights at home and ally themselves with military dictatorships abroad (Greece, Poland, Jugo-Slavia), the defenders of Arianism unite with the "short yellow men of Japan" against the Dutch in the East. As the war intensifies it becomes increasingly apparent that trade routes, spheres of influence, oil, cotton, and rubber are the real stakes.

Clausewitz once said,"War is the continuation of politics by other means". But the reformist, claiming that the imperialist war is a war of progressive forces against the forces of reaction, postpone the struggle for socialism till the victory of their ruling class. We who recognize this war as a bosses warand merely another manifestation of the class struggle continue the fight against the ruling class. That in the last analysis is the only way to fight war.

While propagating the Leninist position of revolutionary defeatism and exposing the imperialist aims of the participating states, we realize that this is not enough. Marxists must find a way of developing the class point of view on allthe current problems that the war has brought to the Canadian workers. The central theme of our propaganda remains, and must be developed around, the slogan "The main enemy is at home". Meanwhile a policy must be brought forward based on the present conditions of the workers in the shops, mills and army.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation refuses to "interfere" in the Trade Union movement - thus leaving the workers at the mercy of the bureaucrats. They adopt the same attitude to the army, leaving the very lives of the workers in the hands of the reactionary officer caste. The Communist Party which does participate in the trade union movement does so in the interests of the reactionary Kremlin clique. This is the only explanation for their conservative policies before the Stalin-Hitler pact and their peculiar antics of today, combining the practices of conniving with the bureaucrats with a policy in some instances of 3rd period Red Trade Unionism. In the same manner as Stalin put the services of the Comintern at the disposal of the democratic imperialists during the Popular Front period of the Franco-Soviet pact, the Comintern now serves the new masters Stalin-Hitler as part of the Soviet-German pact. No one can deny that the Communist Party of Canada is for the defeat of anglo-american imperialism but it can easily be shown that their opposition to the war stops there.

Conscription introduced in easy stages is here in full bloom. At first it consisted of a 30 day training period that was lengthened to 4 months and now the conscripts will be held indefinitely for home defence. The next step is to send them overseas. By midsummer the class of 21 will be exhausted then older classes will be called. Because there will be many more exemptions in the older classes, the age of those called will accellerate rapidly.

The pacifists, so vociferous before the war, are now the official apologists for the government. The Stalinists and a few insignificant religious sects are left alone to hold aloft that miserable banner of pacifism. The workers have proven again and again their courage and militancy on the picket line. Pacifism is compltely alien tothem. Any political group which hopes

to give leadership to the workers with such a policy is doomed from the start. Pacifism is as outmoded as the bustle. The fate of nations for decades to come is being decided on the battlefield. The workers must learn the use of arms and modern mthods of offensive warfare if they ever hope to build a workers world.

Revolutionary Marxists are opposed to exploitation but that does not keep them out of the factories. We are also opposed to the Imperialist war but we do not seek to avoid conscription. With the workers in the army we take full advantage of the teachings of the military experts and become the best fighters on behalf of our comrades. Only in this way is it possible to get the respect of the workers and lead them forward to the tasksahead. We are opposed to conscription not from the pacifist point of view or because we think it undemocratic. No, our opposition is directed at the class nature of conscription. Just as we are not against all wars, supporting the progressive wars, as in Spain and China, we are not opposed to all military training.

REMEMBER FRANCE!

We are opposed to the delivery of the working youth into the hands of an officer caste drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the class enemy. These offiters, some of them avowed fascists, have power of life or death over the ranks. We must never forget the lesson of France. There, the French general staff and officer corps, capitalist and fascist to the core betrayed the workers to the tender mercies of the Gestapo. They knew there was a danger of the workers seizing control in Paris as they did in 1871. Rather than have a workers' state at home they surrendered to Hitler. The training of the workers should be under the control of the workers. Workers must be trained as officers. This training can be given a working class character by placing it under the direct control of the trade unions. The unionsmust demand that the government appropriate the money for the training, including the hiring of the military experts, and turn it over to them. This training should be compulsory just as it is compulsory for the non-union worker in a closed shop to join the union and contribute to its support.

The 4th International's answer to conscription in the imperialist army is compulsory military training under trade union control. Perhaps we may never get Trade Union control of military training but that is the only correct position and the only positive answer to conscription. While we fight for the realization of this slogan we will teach the workers in the same process the real nature of the army, the necessity of creating a workers army and the necessity of first beating the reactionaries and fascists at home. In other words, this isthe slogan of revolutinary defeatism applied to conscription.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE
CANADIAN SECTION OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL ---

THE USSR AND WAR X

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Early Sunday morning, June 22, 1941, on a 1700 mile front, Hitler's vast war machine flung itself on the U.S.S.R. To the world at large and, to be frank, to ourselves Hitler's latest military move came as a surprise. Not in the sense that we thought Hitler dare not because of the wrath of the workers of the world, because of Russian military strength or even in respect of his treaty with Stalin -- No! We were surprised only in that the attack took place at this period -- when the Battle of Britain still hangs fire, the Near East far from cleared up, forces in Africa at a stalemate and internal strife in Norway, Belgium and Holland, etc. Marxism is not an instrument with which we can probe into Hitler's mind and divine his latest tactical moves. The difficulties of forseeing future events are greater than they have ever been before with the blanketting of news by the bourgeois press, both democratic and fascist, and the terrific propaganda barrage which thunders and screams all around us. At no time in the history of the world has diplomacy been so veiled, have the peoples that fight in the factories and fields been so ignorant of the treaties and aims of the state that they are told they must defend. But what Marxism does offer us is a method of analysing the true imperialist nature of this war, the character of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the certainty of an imperialist attack on the U.S.S.R. to destroy the planned economy of that state and exploit the vast resources of the Ukraine, etc.

By no means were we revolutionary marxists caught napping by the invasion as a glance at our American press, which has the facilities to deal with these problems, will divulge. In March 29th issue of the Militant we analysed Stalin's pledge of "full neutrality and understanding" to Turkey in case of an attack by Hitler as being dictated by Stalin's fear of Hitler's Balkan activity. Nazi control of the Dardanelles would complete the circle on the Soviet Western frontier. We further pointed out that Stalin dare not stop Hitler because of the instability of his regime. In April 19 issue -- re Japanese Russian Treaty: What does Stalin gain by the pact Japan promises to remain neutral if the U.S.S.R. finds itself at war with a third power. What 3rd power could the Soviet Union possibly be at war with at this time. It can only be Hitler Germany. If Japan remains neutral in case Hitler attacks the Soviet Union it can only be because Japan will be occpied with its own problems in the South Pacific." In June 14th issue in explanation of anti-Hitler attacks in the Swedish Communist press --"Hitler by his victories became as powerful as to become an infinitely greater menace to the U.S.S.R. than he was before the war. For Stalin to go back to the democracies was out of the question so long as Hitler remained victorious. It was necessary to begin a very cautious policy of preparing for the possibility of an attack by Hitler and at the same time induce Hitler to avoid attacking him and come to some new agreement with him."

Why did Hitler attack the U.S.S.R.? For almost two years now Stalin has been cooperating to the full extent of Soviet resources. But that was not enough due to the chaos in Russian agriculture and industry. Hitler has exposed to the world his internal weakness -- the granaries and oil fields of the Soviet Union have become a life and death problem to his military machine. Hitler demanded more than Stalin could give. Just as the capitalists cannot give the workers control of the factories without a revolution so Stalin could not destroy the economic structure of the workers' State -- the planned economy -- the last remaining heritage of the Revolution. The reasons for Stalin's pact with Hitler and the mikado,

the wars in Poland and Finland become clear for all to see. Stalin's diplomatic game for the past 8 years has been dictated by fear of Hitler. Red Fascism, Red Imperialism, the Moscow-Berlin Axis, all that drivel about Stalin's equal and harmonious partnership with Hitler to divide up the world has been exposed for what it is.

Today, 24 years after the Revolution we find the U.S.S.R. isolated as never before. The Trotsky-Stalin controversy has proven not to be an academic discussion on whether socialism can or cannot be achieved in one country for Stalin once in control of the Communist International transformed it from an instrument of world social revolution to a foreign service bureau for the Stalinist clique, an instrument to see that the social revolution was successful in only one country. The victory of fascism in Germany would never have been possible but for the disruptive tactics of the Communist International. The docile social democratic leaders retained their hold on their members because of the Communist tactic of united front from below -- unity with you but not your leaders-- no unity. In the elections the communists joined hands with the fascists to defeat the social democrats whom they called social-fascists -- the main danger to the revolution. The German workers confused and divided fell easy prey to Hitler's skilful demagogy and brutal storm troopers. With the rise of Fascism the Communist International developed the theory of the popular front -- an all inclusive movement of men of good will to defeat fascism. As if fascism could be defeated by other means than the social revolution. In France the Communist's popular front with the aid of the Blums and Jouhauxs played no small role in the policy of non-intervention in Spain, depriving the Spanish workers of aid while Mussolini and Hitler staked Franco. The French workers tied down by the Franco-Soviet pact and tricked by the class collaborationism of the Popular Front were crushed in the 1936-37 strikes and finally given the iron heel in the anti-labor laws of 1938. When Hitler's machine advanced on France the issues had already been settled, the workers found nothing to fight for and the capitalists, fearing the armed working class would take the road to revolution opened the gates to Hitler. In Spain, Stalin created a Communist Party of petty bourgeois and degenerate elements whose function was to crush the social revolution. In his fear of Hitler he attempted to entice the bourgeois-democratic states into closer relations with the USSR, and to prove his respectability. The Communist Party's role was to switch the social revolution to a fight for bourgeois democratic rights and in this role murdered the POUMists, Anarchists, and Trotskyists, labelling the forces of revolution the fifth column. What revolutionary leadership there was, was murdered, Franco's Morroccans remained solid when the Loyalists refused them autonomy, the peasants and workers seized the land and factories only to see the Popular Front return it to their oppressors and as Franco received greater military aid from Hitler and Mussolini the leaders of the Loyalist government capitulated. In China today as in 1927, Stalin ties the workers and peasants to the Kuomintang which offers them British and American oppressors in place of Japanese and no real solution to the agrarian problem. And today as in 1927 Chian-Kai-Shek murders the revolutionary workers and peasants.

In Stalin's diplomatic games with the capitalist states the working class figure not as power in thar own right, as a revolutionary force, but as pawns to use against this or that capitalist bloc depending on whose favor he is currying. To demonstrate his good will and respectability to the so-called democratic axis the French and Spanish workers went down to defeat.

The Stalin bureaucracy fears a revolution that they cannot control - better the French and Spanish workers be drushed than set the world aflame and spell the doom of the bureaucracy. Two years ago, in the face of Popular front, democratic slogans that the Comintern had been pedalling for years, Stalin made a treaty with Hitler, the greatest enemy of the workers, giving him the green light for the invasion of Poland the second world war. A few months ago the bureaucracy came to an understanding with Japan, recognizing their sovereignty over Manchuoko - recognizing their partial conquest of China. By the Moscow Trials where the leaders of the October revolution confessed to plots with British French German Japanese imperialism against the workers' state, not only did Stalin murder the symbols of socialism but made Soviet justice and the workers state a subject of world scorn and contempt. The Soviet Union is isolated as never before because the Soviet bureaucracy crushed what would have been successful revolutions in Germany France Spain and China. Stalin has alienated the workers of the world by his cynicism and duplicity.

At Brest-Litovsk when the Bolsheviks were under the Kaiser's thumb and forced to grant enormous concessions - Trotsky, leader of the Red Army and negotiator of the Treaty told the workers and farmers of the world their predicament, broke off negotiations, and finally signed the Treaty only when all knew there was no alternative. The Soviet Union of Lenin and Trotsky was responsible to the world. It was the Indian peasants and the French workers' revolution --the revolution of all the oppressed. Today when the very existence of the Soviet Union is at stake as the German military machine struggles with the Red Army Molotov in his speech to the world lays the blame of this war not on capitalism where it properly belongs but on German aggression and infidelity to the Stalin-Hitler pact. Not a word is addressed to the international working class. The defense of the Soviet Union to Stalin and the bureaucratic lickspittles of the Molotov stripe lies entirely in the hands of the U.S. and Great Britain who in their desire to defeat their most powerful enemy (Hitler) for the moment are willing to grant aid. While Molotov's speech is colored since it is addressed to the British and American governments, none the less the Soviet peoples are rallied to the defense of the Republic with entreaties to defend the Fatherland", for our country, for honour for liberty" not in defense of socialism or the revolution. Not a word about the victories of Trotsky's Red Army over the invading forces of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. but a great deal about the defeat of Napoleon's invasion, about the glorious traditions of the Russia of the Czars. For Stalin has alienated the Russian workers with his Stakhnaovism, forced labor, low wages and lack of commodities. He cannot and dare not rally the Russian workers and peasants to the slogans of the Revolution, for to do that would be to expose the decay of the Revolution and to expose his own parasitic clique.

We Fourth Internationalists pledge ourselves anew to the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. Unconditional - yes -- in that we lay no conditions down to the bureaucracy. We defend the Soviet Union in spite of the Stalin clique. In October 1917 the Russian workers through their Soviets seized the large feudal states and divided them among the peasants, took the banks, railroad and industries from the capitalists and put them, as nationalized property, under workers' control. The Russian workers and peasants in spite of the backwardness of their industry and agriculture demonstrated to the world the superiority of socialist production over capitalist production. Today the Soviets no longer exist -- the power being usurped by the Stalin clique. But Russian industry and Russian agriculture is still untouched by private ownership. The essential conquest of the

Revolution remains. We defend the foreign trade monopoly of the Russian workers -- the nationalized industry and the nationalized land. We defend the USSR from Imperialism. A victorious Hitler would reopen one sixth of the globe to capitalist exploitation and reduce the workers and peasants to coolie labor.

The forces of Trotskyism which still exist in USSR in spite of purges murders and exiles will prove themselves the best fighting forces in the Red Army. To defeat Hitler the forces of revolution will find it necessary to revive the soviets and all the real elements of workers power. In order to rally the workers and peasants to the scarlet banner and to cope with the new methods of warfare the blitzkreig in which troops are continually cut off from their center, the latent powers of improvisation and the tremendous reserves of strength of the masses must be called into being. The Stalinist bureaucracy which for 20 years has sapped the strength of the Russian workers in the exigencies of this titanic struggle - will be swept aside. Once again the Russian workers can set Europe aflame and rid the working class of their tyrants - the bourgeoisie.

The task of the defense of the Soviet Union and the revival of soviet democracy is ours. Due to the international policies of the Comintern the Soviet Union at this stage is forced to seek and accept the aid of British and American Imperialism. Roosevelt and Churchill however remain untiring enemies of the Soviet Union and donate their aid only because they consider Hitler to be their most powervul enemy at this period. The fact that Roosevelt and Churchill ally themselves with the USSR in no way invalidates our analysis of the reactionary imperialist war that they are waging.

We continue to defend our right to organize and strike.

We continue to fight against the Defence of Canada Regulations and all anti-labor legislation.

We continue in our struggle to build a militant and powerful working class movement. .. to form a Canadian Workers and Farmers Government -- the best defence and only real ally of the Soviet Union.

.....

SOVIET "WAR POTENTIAL"

"FREE EUROPE", a fortnightly review of (so-called) international opinion, contains three articles on "SOVIET WAR POTENTIAL" by Anatole Baikaloff. (Issues of Dec. 13th, 1940 and following). He takes up the three factors in war potential: the military, the industrial and the morale.

The peacetime strength of the Red Army is 2.5 million with 7 million trained reserves and 25 million total avaialable manpower. But numbers alone mean little. Huge armies inadequately equipped, badly trained and led, are mere cannon-fodder. The Finnish War showed an insufficient solder training. But the weakest point was the shortage of officers and their technical inefficiency. At the beginning of 1937 (official Soviet data) there were

49,500 officers of all ranks. 4,500 of these had served in the old imperail army; 26,000 were trained in Soviet military schools; 16,000 were promoted from the ranks after a short perfunctory training. Only 15% of the colonels and generals had passed through military academies. These figures show an insufficiency of officers even for a peace-time army.

According to information of the French General Staff, the purge begun in May 1937 affected no less than 30,000 officers who were either shot, imprisoned or otherwise removed from the army. The higher ranks suffered the most. Here are those liquidated: 3 marshals out of 5; 13 army commanders out of 19; 65 corps commanders out of 85; 110 divisional commanders out of 180; 202 brigade commanders out of 406. Time has been too short to repair the damage of this massacre in the last two years. A major war would require 300 divisions and there are too few officers available. Very few are now able to work out strategic plans or tactics or to conduct operations. In the Finnish War the High Command directed operations most incompetently. Only the good fighting qualities of the ranks and their dogged tenacity averted a major disaster. Tactical successes were achieved only after securing the services of German experts. The Red Army could undertake large-scale operations against a first-class military power if the plan of operations were drawn up by foreign experts, but would the Allies spare the time and would the Kremlin deem it advisable.

The number of military machines at the disposal of the army are sufficient. On June 1, 1940, there were 30,000 airplanes including 18,000 first line bombers and fighters; 20,000 tanks of all sizes; several thousand armored cars; a sufficient number of field and heavy guns; a large fleet of trucks and lorries. But the troops are not familiar with the working of their equipment and not trained to handle them efficiently. They show rough and careless handling. Clothing and footwear are of very poor quality. Discipline suffered greatly from dual command. The political commissars interfered with purely military matters and undermined the authority of the commanding officers. The GPU is feared and hated by officers and men. Many were murdered by their own subordinates during the campaign. At the beginning of August 1940 these commissars were abolished. But the higher ranks were not affected by this reform. Stalin does not trust his officers and they are spied on now as before. Thus the action and initaitve of the commanding officers is very limited. The Red Army is by no means a first class army.

Transport is the big Russian problem. The coefficient of traffice density was 1.13 in 1913. In 1938 it was 3.90 as against 1.08 in the U.S.; .83 in England; 1.17 in Germany. Even during peactime the railroads are considerably overloaded. They could not stand a war-strain and their breakdown would bring an industrial halt. There is a shortage of engines, trucks, carriages, rails. There are no good motor roads and road transport is insignif icant. There are only 17.5 million horses in 1938 as against 35.8 in 1916. Russia lacks copper, zinc, tin, aluminum, lead and rubber. The weakest link is agriculture which hardly meets the low level of peace needs.

The factor of morale is worst of all. The workers and peasants are no better than serfs. The cost of living is going up and wages down. Youth are now deprived of educati n. According to the Soviet press itself, the new decrees cut short the studies of some 600,000 students. Pupils in secondary schools have to pay 200 rubles pr year, inuniversities and technical ~~xxi~~ schools 400 rubles. This rule was applied even to pupils and

students in their last year. In some provincial universities and technical colleges 80% were obliged to quit and seek employment. Boys of 14 to 17 were conscripted for labor. After one year's training they are obliged to work for four yearws anywnere they are sent. In short, Russia is a volcano ready for revolt.

J. W.

(Reprinted from Fourth International, May 1941)

MANIFESTO of the 4th. International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution ——— CONT'D

The industry of England and France, thanksto the assured flow of colonial super-profits, has long lagged both in technology and organization. In addition, the so-called "defense of democracy" by the socialist parties and trade unions created an extremely privileged political situation for the British and French bourgeoisie. Privileges always foster sluggishness and stagnation. If Germany today reveals so colossal a peponderance over England and France, then the lion's share of the responsibility rests with the social-patriotic defenders of democracy who prevented the proletariat from tearing England and France out of atrophy through a timely socialist revolution.

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"THE PROGRAM OF PEACE"

In return for the enslavement of the peoples Hitler promises to establish a "German Peace" in Europe for a period of centuries. An empty mirage! The "British Peace" after the victory over Napoleon could endure a century-not a thousand years!-- solely because Britain was the pioneer of a new technology and a progressive system of production. Notwithstanding the strength of her industry, present-day Germany, like her enemies, is the standard bearer of a doomed social system. Hitler's victory would in reality not mean peace but the beginning of a new series of bloody clashes on a world scale. By overthrowing the British empire, reducing France to the status of Bohemia and Moravia, basing herself on the European continent and its colonies, Germany undoubtedly would become the first pewer in the world. Along with her, Italy at best might -- not for very long-- seize control of the Mediterranean basin. But being the first power does not mean being the only power. The struggle for "living room" would only enter a new stage.

The "new order" which Japan is preparing to establish, basing herself on German victory, has as its perspective the extension of Japanese rule over the greater part of the Asiatic continent. The Soviet Union would find itself hemmed in between a Germanized Europe and Japanized Asia. All three Americas, as well as Australia and New Zealand would fall to the United States. If we take into account the provincial Italian empire in addition, the world would be temporarily divided into five "living rooms". But imperialism by its very nature abhors any division of power. In order to free his hands against America, Hitler would have to settle bloody accounts with his friends of yesterday.. Stalin and Mussolini. Japan and the United States would not remain disinterested observers of the new struggle. The

third imperialist war would be waged not by national states and not by empires of the old type but by whole continents ... Hitler's victory in the present war would thus signify not a thousand years of "German Peace" but bloody chaos for many decades if not centuries.

But neither would and Allied triumph result in any more radiant consequences. Victorious France could re-establish her position as a great power only by dismembering Germany, restoring the Hapsburgs, Balkanizing Europe. Great Britain could again play a leading role in European affairs only be refurbishing the game of playing on the contradictions between Germany and France on the one side, Europe and America on the other. This would signify a new and ten times worse edition of the peace of Versailles with infinitely more malignant effects upon the weakened organism of Europe. To this it must be added that an Allied victory without American aid is improbable, while the United States this time would demand a much higher price for its assistance than in the last war. The debased and exhausted Europe -- the object of Herbert Hoover philanthhopy -- would become the bankrupt debtor of its trans-Atlantic saviour.

Finally, if we suppose the least probably variant, namely the conclusion of peace by the exhausted adversaries in accordance with the pacifist formula: "No victors, no vanquished," this would signify restoration of the international chaos which existed prior to the war, but this time based on bloody ruins, on exhuastion, on embitterment. In a short period of time all the old antagonisms would cut through to the surface with explosive violence and break out in new international convulsions.

The promise of the Allies to create a democratic European federation this time is the crudest of all pacifist lies. The state is not an abstraction but the instrument of monopoly capitalism. So long as trusts and banks are not expropriated for the benefit of the people the struggle between states is just as inevitable as the struggle between the trusts themselves. Voluntary renunciation by th3e most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as xridiculous a Utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts. So long as capitalist property is preserved, a democratic "federation" would be nothing but a worse repetition of the League of Nations, containing all its vices minus only its illusions.

In Vain do the imperialist masters of destiny attempt to revive a program of salvation which was completely discredited by the experience of the past decades. In vain do their petty-bourgeois flunkies warm up pacifist panaceas which long ago changed into their own caricature. The advanced workers will not be duped. Peace will not be concluded by those forces now waging war. The workers and soldiers will dictate their own program of peace!

DEFENSE OF THE USSR

Stalin's alliance with Hitler, which raised the curtain on the World War and led directly to the enslavement of the Polish people, resulted from the weakness of the USSR and the Kremlin's panic in face of Germany. Responsibility for this weakness rests with no one but this same Kremlin; its internal policy which opened an abyss between the ruling caste and the people; its foreign policy which sacrificed the interests of the world revolution to the interests of theStalinist clique.

The seizure of Eastern Poland -- a pledge of the alliance with Hitler and a guarantee against Hitler -- was accompanied by the nationalization of semi-feudal and capitalist property in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia. Without this the Kremlin could not have incorporated the occupied territory into the USSR. The strangled and desecrated October revolution served notice that it was still alive.

In Finland the Kremlin did not succeed in accomplishing a similar social overturn. The imperialist mobilization of world public opinion "in defense of Finland"; the threat of direct intervention by England and France; the impatience of Hitler, who had to seize Denmark and Norway before French and British troops appeared on Scandinavian soil -- all This compelled the Kremlin to renounce sovietization of Finland and to limit itself to the seizure of the indispensable strategic positions.

The invasion of Finland unquestionably aroused on the part of the Soviet populace profound condemnation. However, the advanced workers understood the crimes of the Kremlin oligarchy do no not strike off the agenda the question of the existence of the USSR. Its defeat in the world war would signify not merely the overthrow of the totalitarian bureaucracy but the the liquidation of the new forms of property, the collapse of the first experiment in planned economy and the transformation of the entire country into a colony, that is, the handling over to imperialism of colossal natural resources which would give it a respite until the third world war. Neither the peoples of the USSR nor the world working class as a whole care for such an outcome.

Finland'sresistance to the USSR was, with all its heroism, no more an act of independent national defense, than Norway's subsequent resistance to Germany. The Helsinki government itself understood this when it chose to capitulate to the USSR rather than transform Finland into a military base for England and France. Our whole-hearted recognition of the right of every nation to self-determination does not alter the fact that in the course of the present war this right does not have much more weight than thistle-down. We must determine the basic line of our policy in accordance wih basic and not tenth-rate factors. The theses of the Fourth International state: "The idea of national defense especially if it coincides with the idea of the defense of democracy can most readily be utilized to dupe the workers of small and neutral countries (Switzerland, to a certain extent Belgium, the Scandinavian countries...)..... Only petty-bourgeois blockheads (like Robert Grimm) form a God-forsaken Swiss village could seriously believe that the World War into which he will be drawn is a means for defending the independence of Switzerland." These words today acquire a special meaning. In no way superior to the Swiss social-patriot Robert Grimm are those pseudo-revolutionary petty-bourgeois who believe that it is possible to determine proletarian strategy in relation to the defense of the USSR through reliance upon such tactical episodes as the Red Army's invasion of Finland.

TO BE CONTINUED.

SOCIALIST ACTION

FEBRUARY 1942

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE
CANADIAN SECTION OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL ----

Official Organ SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE SOCIALIST ACTION Canadian Section 4th International

(Feb. 1942 p. 1)

THE MINNEAPOLIS FRAME-UP

Significantly the Canadian Press had sealed lips on th e trial of the 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544 CIO that was held in Minneapolis from late October to December 10. Our American comrades not only bravely defended themselves and their ideas but boldely turned the tables---the defense became the prosecution. The courtroom, so often the scene of savage persecution was transformed into a forum where our ideas on the state, seizure of power, Russian Revolution etc., were explained in their smallest detail. The fundamental purpose of the trial----to intimidate and destroy the only serious anti-war movement in th e country failed miserably.

The trial had its origin in Minneapolis, centre of Mid-West isolationism and where our comrades were most deeply entrenched in the labor unions. Local 544 of t h e Teamster's Union AF of L of which our comrades were the mainstay and inspiration had long been an embarrasement to President Tobin for its militant and courageous union drives and its deep political influence. As the United States became more and more involved in World War II the Stalinist Social Democratic and liberal labor leaders slid into line---all but the Trotskyist. It became Tobin's task once again to purge Minneapolis of th is group which stuck to its guns. Last May Tobin demmanded that Local 544 submit to a receiver from his office who was to supersede the elected officers of the Union. On June 9 the membership replied with an overwhelming vote to affiliate with the CIO. Tobin's subsequent telegram to President Roosevelt; "that I consider 544's withdrawl from th e AFof L a dangerous and regrettable condition. The officers of the local Union were requested to disassociate themselves from the radical Trotsky organization....Those disturbers must in some way be prevented from pursuing this dangerous course", caused that vociferous democrat t o turn the case over to the FBI who raided the SWP headquarters in Minneapolis on June 27 and got an indictment from the Department of Justice on July 15 against 29 SWP and Local 544 CIO members for conspiring to overthrow the governmen t by armed force.

The prosecution, handled by the Assistant Attorney General of The United States Schweinhaut himself, developed in court around the Union Defense Guards, which the party built principally in New York and Minneapolis as a defense against vigilante and Coughlin-Silver Shirt groups, our comrades dissemination of the works of Lenin, Trotsky and Karl Marx including the widely read Communist Manifesto, and the section from their Declaration of Principles that states, "that in event of war we will not under any circumstances support that war but will on the contrary fight against it".

(Feb. 1942 p. 2) FRAME-UP

The defendants were charged with no open seditious or conspiratorial acts but with having certain ideas and propogating them, criticizing and opposing government policies, educating and org anizing people for socialism. At the very moment that the American people were celebrating the 150th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights, Roosevelt transformed it into another scrap of paper.

From coast to coast trade unions passed resolutions condemning the Minneapolis prosecution and donated funds to the Civil Rights Defence Committee. The Worker's Defence League, the American Civil Liberties Union, prominent labor figures and intellectuals rallied to the aid of the Committee. Well known friends of labor such as Carlo Tresca, James T. Farrell, John Dos Passos, Roger Baldwin and many others added their voices in the cry of disapproval.

In the course of the trial, charges were dropped against all but 18. On December 10, 12 of the 18 were sentenced to 16 months and 6 were sentenced to a year and a day. All were released on the sedition count but were found guilty of violating the Smith Act 1940--an Act declared to be unconstitutional by the Civil Liberties Union. This is the first conviction under the Smith Act. The Committee intends to appeal the case even to the Supreme Court if necessary.

The Socialist Workers League of Canada is proud to associate itself with the SWP, proud of the way that the party rallied around the defendants and the inspiring defense of our ideas that they conducted before the court. Attorney Schweinhaut warned the jury that "small though the Trotskyists are today, they might make a revolution soon by preying upon the distress and despair of people during war and depression." Yes! We are convinced that the American and Canadian workers and farmers dragged by a decaying capitalism through depression and war, poverty and mass slaughter will find their liberation in our ideas notwithstanding. The Roosevelts and the other capitalist lackeys understand.

HONOUR ROLL

16 months

James P.Cannon- national secretary SWP.
Farrell Dobbs- national labour secretary, SWP.
Albert Goldman- attorney, SWP.
V.R.Dunne- organiser of local 544, National Committee of SWP.
Felix Morrow, editor of Militant, SWP.

1 year and a day

E.Palmquist, organiser, local 544.
Clarence Hamel, organiser, local 544.
H.de Boer, organiser, local 544.
Alfred Russell, former organiser of Omaha Teamsters.
Oscar Schoenfield, youth organiser, local 544, Federal Workers.

Grace Carlson, organizer, SWP
Oscar Coover, organizer, SWP
Emil Hanson, organizer 544CIO
Carl Skoglund, organizer 544CIO
Carlos Hudson Editor, Industrial Organizer, organ of 544CIO
Jake Cooper, Minneapolis Truck Driver
Max Goldman, formerly Secretary of Federal Workers Section Local 544

Karl Kuhn, officer of 544 Federal Workers

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MANIFESTO of the 4th. International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution——CONT'D

----DEFENSE OF THE USSR-Cont=-

Extremely eloquent in its unanimity and fury was the campaign which the world bougeoisie launched over the Soviet-Finnish war. Neither the perfidy nor the violence of the Kremlin prior to this had aroused the indignation of the bourgeoisie, for the entire history of world politics is written in perfidy and violence. Their fear and indignation arose over the prospect of a social overturn in Finland upon the pattern of the one engendered by the Red Army in Eastern Poland. What was involved was a fresh threat to capital ist property. The anti-Soviet campaign, which had a class character through and through, disclosed once again that the USSR by virtue of the social foundations laid down by the October revolution, upon which the existence of the bureaucracy itself is dependent in the last analysis still remains a worker's state, terrifying to the bourgeoisie of the whole world. Episodic agreements between the bourgeoisie and the USSR do not alter the fact that "taken on the historic scale the contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is infinitely more profound than the antagonisms which set the individual capitalist countries in opposition to each other." (War and the Fourth International)

Many petty-bourgeois radicals, who only yesterday were still ready to consider the Soviet Union as an axis for grouping the "democratic" forces against Fascism, have suddenly discovered, now that their own fatherlands have been threatened by Hitler, that Moscow, which did not come to their aid, follows an imperialist policy, and that there is no difference between the USSR and the Fascist countries.

Lie! will respond every class conscious worker--there is a difference. The bourgeoisie appraise this social difference better and more profoundly t han do the radical windbags. To be sure, the nationalization of the means of production in one country, and a backward one at that, still does not insure the building of socialism. But it is capable of furthering the primary prerequisite of socialism, namely, the planned development of the productive forces.

To turn one's back on th e nationalization of the means of production on the ground that in and of itself it does not create the well-being of the masses is tantamount to sentencing a granite foundation to destruction on the ground that t is impossible to live without walls and a roof. The class conscious worker knows that a successful struggle for complete emancipation is unthinkable without the defense of conquests already gained, however modest these may be. All the more oblig atory therefore is the defense of so colossal a conquest as planned economy against the restoration of capitalist relations. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones.

The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by methods of revolutionary class struggle. To teach the workers correctly to understand the c lass character of the state--imperialist, colonial, workers'--and the reciprocal relations between them as well as the inner contradictions in each of them enables the workers to draw correct practical conclusions in eve ry given situation. While waging a tireless struggle against the Moscow oligarchy, the Fourth International decisively rejects any policy which would aid imperialism against the USSR.

The defense of the USSR coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW
OF STALIN'S BONAPARTIST CLIQUE

After five years fawning on the "democracies", the Kremlin revealed cynical contempt for the world prole tariat by concluding an alliance with Hitler and helping him to strangle the Polish people: it boasted with shameful chauvinism on the eve of the Finnish invasion and displayed no less shameful military incapacity in the subsequent struggle: it made noisy promises to "emancipate" the Finnish people from the capitalists and then made a cowardly capitulation to Hitler--this was the performance of the Stalinist regime in the critical hours of history.

The Moscow trials had already revealed that the totalitarian oligarchy had become an absolute obstacle in the path of the country's development. The rising level of the increasingly complex needs of economic life can no longer tolerate bureaucratic strangulation. The gang of parasites is not, however, prepared to make any concessions. In struggling for its position it destroys everything that is best in the country. It should not be thought that the people who accomplished three revolutions in twelve years have suddenly become stupid. They are suppressed and disoriented but they are watching and thinking. The bureaucracy reminds them every day of its existence by its arbitrary rule, oppression, rapacity and bloody vengefulness. Semi-starved workers and collective farmers among themselves whisper with hatred about the spend-thrift caprices of rabid commissars. For Stalin's sixtieth birthday the workers in the Urals were forced to toil a year and a half on a gigantic portrait of the hated "father of the peoples" made out of precious stones--an undertaking worthy of a Persian Xerxes or an Egyptian Cleopatra. A regime capable of indulging in such abominations cannot fail to arouse the hatred of the masses.

Foreign policy corresponds to domestic policy. Had the Kremlin government expressed the real interests of the workers' state: had the Comintern served the cause of the world revolution, the popular masses of tiny Finland would inevitably have gravitated towards the USSR and the invasion of the Red Army would either not at all have been necessary or would have been accepted at once by the Finnish people as a revolutionary act of emancipation. In reality the entire previous policy of the Kremlin repelled the Finnish workers and peasants away from the USSR. While Hitler has been able to count upon the assistance of the so-called "fifth column" in the neutral countries he invades, Stalin did not find any support whatever in Finland despite the tradition of the 1918 insurrection and the long existence of the Finnish Communist party. Under these conditions the invasion of the Red Army assumed the character of direct and open military violence. The responsibility for this violence falls wholly and indivisibly upon the Moscow oligarchy.

War is the acid test of a regime. As a consequence of the first period of the war, the international position of the USSR, despite the window-trimming successes, has already obviously worsened. The foreign policy of the Kremlin has repelled from the USSR broad circles of the world working class and the oppressed peoples. The strategic bases of support seized by Moscow will represent a third-rate factor in the conflict of world forces. Meanwhile Germany has obtained the most important and the most industrialized section of Poland and gained a common frontier with the USSR, that is, a gateway to the east. Through Scandinavia, Germany dominates the Baltic sea, transforming the Gulf of Finland into a tightly corked bottle. Embittered Finland comes under Hitler's direct control. Instead of weak neutral states, the USSR

now confronts a powerful Germany on the other side of its Leningrad border. The weakness of the Red Army decapitated by Stalin has been demonstrated to the whole world. The centrifugal nationalist tendencies within the USSR have intensified. The prestige of the Kremlin leadership has declined. Germany in the West, Japan in the East now feel infinitely more confident than before the Kremlin's Finnish adventure.

In his meager arsenal Stalin could find but one and only one answer to the ominous warning of events; he replaced Voroshilov by an even emptier nonentity, Timoshenko. As always in these instances the goal of this maneuvre is to divert the anger of the people and the army away from the main criminal responsible for the misfortunes and to place at the head of the army an individual whose reliability is guaranteed by his insignificance. The Kremlin has once again revealed itself as the central nest of defeatism. Only by destroying this nest can security of the USSR be safeguarded.

The preparation of the revolutionary overthrow of the Moscow ruling caste is one of the main tasks of the Fourth International. This task is not simple or easy. It demands heroism and sacrifice. However, this epoch of great convulsions upon which mankind has entered will strike the Kremlin oligarchy with blow after blow, will break up its totalitarian apparatus, will raise the self-confidence of the working masses and thereby facilitate the formation of the Soviet section of the Fourth International. Events will work in our favor if we are capable of assisting them!

COLONIAL PEOPLES IN THE WAR

By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan centres, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation.

If a program of peaceful social transformation is Utopian for the advanced capitalist countries, then the program of peaceful liberation for the colonies is doubly Utopian. On the other hand, the last of the semi-free backward countries have been enslaved before our eyes (Ethiopia, Albania, China... The entire present war is a war over colonies. They are hunted by some; held by others who refuse to give them up. Neither side has the least intention of liberating them voluntarily. The declining metropolitan centres are impelled to drain away as much as possible from the colonies and to give them in return as little as possible. Only the direct and open revolutionary struggle of the enslaved peoples can clear the road for their emancipation.

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X

CEILING ON WAGES A BLOW AT THE TRADE UNIONS

A controlled economy has been introduced in Canada which hamstrings working class organizations and progressively lowers the proportion of national income going to the worker-producers. The Indust rialists, who control the government, are left a free hand to grab everything.

With the economic basis for labor union organization dealt an under the belt blow by the ceiling on wages, King thinks he can so weaken the workers that he will be able to introduce even more rigorous anti-labor laws without any strong opposition.

Meanwhile he prates about Democracy and the glories of the "Old Country": ignoring the fact that he breakes his own Orders in Council when the workers solidarity overcomes all the legal barriers put in their way, as at Kirkland Lake, where 4000 miners still await company recognition: ignoring, too, that in the "Old Country" the Trades Unions last September decisively defeated the attempt of the Churchill Government to control wages.

The Canadian Government's actions ridicule all pretence to democracy. Every scrap of reactionary legislation has been introduced by Orders in Council. The much boosted democratic parliament, one of the sacred possessions for which we are told we are fighting, is permitted only to rubber-stamp the Administration's orders. And to good purpose too. The old line parties and their capitalist backers do not want a real democratic parliament--a parliament that would really represent the workers and farmers of Canada. Everyone knows, and economic history proves it, that wage increases do not increase the cost of living. Wages always follow the cost of living. If the King government were what it pretended to be it would control prices alone, and leave workers' organisations to arrive at a fair level of wages. And why wait until prices have reached a peak? In Australia, a strong trade union country and a British Dominion to boot, this was done from the commencement of war and the cost of living has risen only 8.6%, food prices rising only 3% against the Canadian increase of 13.8% with 20% rise in the cost of food over the same period. The government has issued orders to manufacturers and distibutors that prices must be limited to the highest price at which goods of the same kind and quality were supplied during the period Sept. 15 to Oct.11, 1941. Thereupon the government sets up boards to see that the law is obeyed,- to see that the manufacturers and distributors do not overcharge the consumer. But who are seated on those boards but the biggest of manufacturers and distributors!

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What are the odds that the price law will be enforced in the interests of the consumer? These appointees are the representatives of Canada's patriotic industrialists who refused to operate under the legal limitation of profit at 5 per cent. They refused to dothat---is it likely that they will enforce the price laws in a way which will limit their profits ? The price laws will be operated by them solely to squeeze out the small producers and retailers and concentrate still more the whole of Canadian economy in the hands of a few big industrialists.

The only method of controlling prices and not shoving small shopkeepers to the wall is by controlling industry---by controlling production. The dynamics of a war economy necesitate the concentration and control of industry. But the Canadian workers must not permit the industrialists to take advantage of the situation to further their strangle hold on the resources of the country. Industry must function in the interests of the consumer. Industry must be controlled and planned to meet the needs of the Canadian people and not the already bloated pockets of the Canadian and American money barons. Conscription of Industry ----Yes ! A[illegible]ption under the watchful eye and firm hand of the worker consumers---under the control of the trade unions!

The fundamental purpose of the freezing of wages is to weaken the Trade Unions and thereby destroy one of the few remaining defences of democracy in Canada. Strengthen the object of King's attack ! Join your Union now ! Urge your Union to fight the Order in Council which freezes wages and hamstrings Labor !

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The workers and farmers of Canada, after thousands of them gave their lives in World War 1914-18 and th ousands more live in torture in Army Hospitals across the country , were solemnly promised that that war was the war to end all wars. As the Leag ue of Nations exposed its inability to deal with world prob lems and reaction and poverty swept across the world the tune changed and we were solemnly promised that this time there would be no war millionaires---that those who controlled canadian industry would not be permitted to reap tremendous profits at the expense of the workers and the $1.30 a day soldiers. Last year Finance Minister Ilsely announced in the House that there were 21 new millionaires---war millionaires. The Finance Counsels latest figures of Canadian corporations dividend payments to shareholders in 1941 indicate that payments sare more than 6 millions higher than last year.

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In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the struggle for an independent national state, and consequently the "defense of the fatherland" is different in principle from that of the imperialist countries. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world gives unconditional support to the struggle of China or India for national independence, for this struggle, "by tearing the backward people out of the Asiatic system, particularism and foreign bondage, strikes powerful blows at imperialism." (War and the 4TH International)

At the same time the Fourth International knows in advance and openly warns the backward nations that their belated national states can no longer count upon an independent democratic development. Surrounded by decaying capitalism and enmeshed in the imperialist contradictions, the independence of a backward state inevitably will be semi-fictitious and its political regime, under the influence of internal class contradictions and external pressure, will unavoidably fall into dictatorship against the people--such is the regime of the People's party in Turkey, the Kuomintang in China; Ghandi's regime will be similar tomorrow in India. The struggle for the national independence of the colonies is, from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat only a transitional stage on the road toward drawing the backward countries into the international socialist revolution.

The Fourth International does not draw water-tight distinctions between the backward and the advanced countries, the democratic and the socialist revolutions. It combines them and subordinates them to the world struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors. Just as the only genuinely revolutionary force of our era is the international proletariat so the only real program to liquidate all oppression, social and national, is the program of the permanent revolution.

THE GREAT LESSON OF CHINA

The tragic experience of China is a great lesson for the oppressed peoples. The Chinese revolution of 1925-27 had every chance for victory. A unified and transformed China would constitute at this time a powerful fortress of freedom in the Far East. The entire fate of Asia and to a degree the whole world might have been different. But the Kremlin, lacking confidence in the Chinese masses and seeking the friendship of the generals, utilized its whole weight to subordinate the Chinese proletariat to the bourgeoisie and so helped Chiang Kai-shek to crush the Chinese revolution. Disillusioned, disunited and weakened, China was laid open to Japanese invasion.

Like every doomed regime the Stalinist oligarchy is already incapable of learning from the lessons of history. At the beginning of the [illegible] war the Kremlin again placed the Communist Party in bondage to Chiang Kai-shek crushing in the bud the revolutionary initiative of the Chinese proletariat.

This war, now nearing its third anniversary, might long since have been finished by a real catastrophe for Japan, if China had conducted it as a genuine people's war based on an agrarian revolution and setting the Japanese soldiery aflame with its blaze. But the Chinese bourgeoisie fears its own armed masses more than it does the Japanese ravishers. If Chiang Kai-shek, the sinister hangman of the Chinese revolution, is compelled by circumstances to wage a war his program is still based, as before, on the oppression of his own workers and compromise with the imperialists.

The war in Eastern A sia will become more and more interlocked with the imperialist world war. The Chinese people will be able to reach independence only under the leadership of the youthful and self-sacrificing proletariat, in whom the indispensable self-confidence will be rekindled by the rebirth of the world revolution. They will indicate a firm line of march. The course of events places on the order of the day the development of our Chinese section into a powerful revolutionary party.

TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA

In the very first weeks of the war the Indian masses exerted their growing pressure, compelling the opportunist "national" leaders to speak in an unaccustomed tongue. But woe to the Indian people if they place trust in high-sounding words! Under the mask of the slogan of national independence Ghandi has already hastened to proclaim his refusal to create difficulties for Great Britain during the present severe crisis. As if the oppressed anywhere or at any time have ever been able to free themselves except by exploiting the difficulties of their oppressors!

Ghandi's "moral" revulsion from violence merely reflects the fear of the Indian bourgeoisie before its own masses. They have very good grounds for their foreboding that British imperialism will drag them down too in the collapse. London for its part warns that at the first display of disobedience it will apply "all necessary measures"——including, of course, the air force in which it is deficient at the Western Front. There is a clear cut division of labor between the colonial bourgeoisie and the British government; Ghandi needs the threats of Chamberlain and Churchill in order more successfully to paralyze the revolutionary movement.

In the near future the antagonism between the Indian masses and the bourgeoisie promises to become sharper as the imperialist war more and more becomes a gigantic commercial enterprise for the Indian bourgeoisie. By opening up an exceptionally favorable market for raw materials it may rapidly promote Indian industry. If the complete destruction of the British Empire slashes the umbilical cord linking Indian capital with the City of London, the national bourgeoisie would quickly seek a new patron in New York's Wall Street. The material interests of the bourgeoisie determine their politics with the force of the laws of gravitation.

So long as the liberating movement is controlled by the exploiting class it is incapable of getting out of a blind alley. The only thing that can wor

India together is the agrarian revolution under the banner of national independence. A revolution led by the proletariat will be directed not only against British rule but also against the Indian princes, foreign concessions, the top layer of the national bourgeoisie, and the leaders of the National Congress as well as against the leaders of the Moslem League. It is the pressing task of the Fourth International to create a stable and powerful section in India.

The treacherous policy of class collaboration through which the Kremlin for the last five years has been helping the capitalist governments prepare for war was abruptly liquidated by the bourgeoisie, just as soon as they ceased to need a pacifist disguise. But in the colonial and semi-colonial countries --not only in China and India, but in Latin America--the fraud of the people's fronts still continues to paralyze the working masses, converting them into cannon-fodder for the "progressive" bourgeoisie and in this way creating an indigenous political basis for imperialism.

THE FUTURE OF LATIN AMERICA

The monstrous growth of armaments in the United States prepares for a violent solution of the complex contradictions in the Western hemisphere and should soon pose point-blank the question of the destiny of the Latin American countries. The interlude of the good neighbour policy is coming to an end. Roosevelt or his successor will quickly take the iron fist out of the velvet glove. The theses of the Fourth International state: "South and Central America cannot free themselves from backwardness and servitude except by uniting all their states in a powerful federation. This grandiose historic task is destined to be solved not by the belated South American bourgeoisie, the completely prostituted agency of foreign imperialism, but by the young South American proletariat, the destined leader of the oppressed masses. Therefore, the slogan for the struggle against the violence and the intrigues of world capitalism and against the blood-stained work of the indigenous compradore cliques is: The Soviet United States of South and Central America." Written six years ago, these lines have now acquired a particularly burning actuality.

Only under its own revolutionary direction is the proletariat of the colonies and the semi-colonies capable of achieving invincible collaboration with the proletariat of the metropolitan centers, and with the world working class as a whole. Only this collaboration can lead the oppressed peoples to complete and final emancipation, through the overthrow of world imperialism the world over. A victory of the international proletariat will deliver the colonial countries from the long drawn out travail of capitalist development, by opening up the possibility of arriving at socialism hand in hand with the proletariat of the advanced countries.

The perspective of the permanent revolution in no case signifies that the backward countries must await the signal from the advanced ones, or that the colonial peoples should patiently wait for the proletariat of the metropolitan centers to free them. Help comes to him who helps himself. Workers must develop the revolutionary struggle in every country, colonial or imperialist, where favorable conditions have been established, and through this set an example for the workers of other countries. Only initiative and activity re-

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solutness and boldness can really materialize the slogan; "Workers of the world, unite! "

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FOR A REFERENDUM !

On April 27th the Canadian people will cast their vote yes or no on a ballot marked——"Are you in favor of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service ?"

Why does Mackenzie King, whose cabinet has ruled Canada by Orders in Council since they were swept into office in March 1940, submit such a question to the electorate? As Hanson, leader of the Conservative members, points out Mr. King had no mandate for his declaration of war in 1939, none for his adoption of compulsory military training in Canada in June 1940 and none for the unprecedented measure of ceilings on prices and wages. Indeed not only was there no mandate covering these vital problems but the Canadian parliament which King controls by an overwhelming majority was never even consulted on the extension of the Industrial Disputes Act to all war industries and the passage of other important legislation hamstringing labor such as P.C. 2685, 7440, 4020, etc.

Those who are familiar with Mr. King's record in the Canadian House and his earlier role in the Rockerfeller Foundation promoting company unionism can have no illusions about his faith in the democratic ideals. Only out of dire necessity does King resort to the plebescite. All parties—The Liberal, Conservative, C.C.F., and Social Credit obtained their seats in the House just a short 2 years ago on a promise of no conscription for overseas service. Dr. Manion, leader of the Conservatives at the time of the elections accounts for his party's crushing defeat in; "that the electors feared there was much more danger of conscription under us than under our opponents." Even today, after 2 years of unparalleled tragedy and Allied defeats, the Gallup Poll reports only 64% would vote yes to free the government——results from Quebec show only 25% would vote yes. Roosevelt's, Churchill's, and their Canadian agent's increasing demands that the Canadian workers defend America's and Britain's spheres of influence and imperial possessions force the issue. Churchill aided by the German Luftwaffe and Roosevelt by the Pearl Harbour attack have long since solved their problems. But neither were confronted with the problems of the Canadian Prime Minister.

The Canadian West is strong in its demands for conscription of wealth before manpower. In Quebec Mr. King is faced with a concentrated group which is exceptionally nationalistic, isolationist and anti-British; a group with tremendous influence in this province which contains one third of Canada's population. Not only is Quebec opposed to compulsory overseas service but it is militantly opposed. On Mr. King's brain drums the huge mass meetings, parades violence and disorder that accompanied conscription in Quebec during the last

war. He tremblos to recall the night of April 1 1918 when from the house tops and snow-banks French Canadians exchanged gun-fire with the Federal Police in charge of the Military Service Act----the demonstration of 15000 people where 4 were killed many injured and 58 arrested. For many months now the anti-conscriptionist forces have been rallying. Already there have been mass meetings and demonstrations. The plebescite is held in order to determine the nature and strength of this opposition in Quebec and the opposition across Canada. The most recent manoeuvre to disorganize these forces is the exemption of farmers from compulsory military service.

Mr. King on numerous occassions has denied that a positive vote will mean conscription and insists that all he wants is a free hand in case of emergency. His aide Ralston, while hinting at compulsory enlistment to the army reserves, seconds Mr. King by pointing out that voluntary recruitments are for the present quite satisfactory. But no one is deceived by this ruse. To King and his Allies conscription is already an accepted fact; all that remains is the time and the method of application. This will be determined by the plebescite results. The canadian people in reality are to have no say in the matter. Why does not King conduct a referendum ?

"It would not be fair to the Canadian people to ask them to make a military decision."----to decide yes or no whether there should be conscription for overseas service. Military decisions by all means Mr.King should continue to be decided by the organizers of Dunkirk, Hong Kong, Singapore and the Battle of the Dover Straits! He is oppossed to a general election on the issue because he does not want to leave the people without a parliament for the time it takes to hold one. But parliament since its first session has functioned solely as a testing ground and a rubber stamp---all important legislation being enacted by Orders in Council. He dare not hold an election on the issue. What with the collapse of Hong Kong and numerous scandles of patronage and inefficiency that would be dug up, the decrepit Conservative Party could rally together, reinforce their standing in the House and insure a post-war existence. Liberal Party support of a CCF candidate in South York against the latest Conservative leader, while in part necessitated in defence against Meighen's attacks was an attempt to drive the final nail in the Conservative Party coffin.

The debate that raged in the House prior to the final endorsation and support of King's policies by the CCF, Social Credit, Mrs Neilson and the Conservatives was remarkable for its exposure of the various groupings principles. An analysis of Mrs.Neilsen's, C.C.F.er without membership card and the C.C.F.'s role will be published in a forthcoming issue. The Conservative party oppossed the idea of a plebescite stating that since parliament had declared war and enforced conscription for Canada defence without consulting the people it was not necessary on this issue, also that the plebescite would spread disunity and strife and cost a lot of money. The right of the Canadian people to shape even in some small way their own destiny is a dollar and cent question--a unified Canada to these cynical politicians is a Canada where all oppossition is crushed and silent.

What road should the workers and farmers of Canada take in dealing with the problem of conscription and the plebescite on the question ?

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First and foremost we demand that the decisions of the Canadian people be the law of the land. A plebescite is only of a consultative nature and leaves King in the final analysis to act as he pleases. We demand that a referendum be held and the Canadian government carry out the will of the Canadian people.

Failing a referendum and the plebescite being held------We go on record as opposing the release of the King government from its election pledge of no conscription for overseas service.

But in no sense can our position be interpreted as isolationist, pacifistic or anti-conscriptionist as such. It would be futile for the workers and farmers of Canada to hope to stand aside from the rush of world events. The history of the world and the future of the Canadian people for generations to come will be decided on the battle fields of Asia and Europe. To be caught in this struggle ignorant of the use of arms and the mechanics of warfare would be disastrous. The workers and farmers must undertake military training in order to defend their own interests.

We are 100% behind a scheme for the military training of workers and farmers. Conscription is the only real democratic method of applying military service. What King and Hanson call a voluntary pledge for overseas service is mockery of the meaning of the word. A Canadian worker who volunteers for service automatically volunteers for overseas service. But do these workers really volunteer---join of their own free will. Today 90% of Canadian firms will not hire a man of military age without army rejection papers. Recent legislation prevents employers in non-essential industries from taking on help without government permission. The bosses say to Canadian youth---Join the Army or starve. Who indeed composed the first battalions but the unemployed--the unemployed youth for whom there were no funds for relief and men whose families were shoved off relief at the announcement of the formation of the Canadian Army. These, and others who feel their jobs are dead ends constitute the overwhelming number of the volunteers of King and Hanson's army. Obviously King's voluntary method of raising an army is conscription--conscription of the lower paid and unemployed worker.

Last month a Quebec M.P.P. accused Liberal Party organizers of using their political influence to have doctors declare their sons inept for military service. Last year an organization that obtained deferments from military training was uncovered only to be smothered again in the law courts. At present control of the Military Service Boards rests in the hands of boss party politicians and representatives of industry. President Roosevelt has already used his power to lift draft deferment from striking aircraft workers on the Pacific coast. As long as control of the boards remain in the hands of enemies of labor these boards are a weapon to be used against labor. The present method whereby employers ask deferment of essential workers affords them an excellent opportunity to clean their shops of trade union militants. The trade unions must see to it that the Service Boards are not used to pick off militant workers or as strike breaking agencies. We demand trade union control of the Military Service Boards !

A few years ago Adrien Arcand, leader of a section of the Canadian fascist

movement boasted of the influence of his group in the Canadian Armed Forces. Events in France, Norway, and even England have proven that the armed forces of these countries were and are honeycombed with fascists and fascist sympathizers, for the most part holding important positions. We demand that the Canadian Army be purged of known fascists and fascist sympathizers regardless of rank!

In the forces promotions are granted as in industry with little regard to military talents or abilities. Higher posts are restricted almost entirely to those who have had the good fortune to study at the Kingston Military College or with influence in Liberal or Conservative circles. All opportunities are closed to the rank and file----to those forces in society who by interests and experience are the most strongly anti-fascist-the worker and farmer. Arcand's influence is limited almost entirely to the present officer caste which is drawn from the strata in society that produced Petain and Quisling---the bourgeoisie. We demand that workers and farmers have the opportunity to train for officer's positions----that the officer's training schools financed by the government be under the control of the trade unions!

The present Canadian and Allied military leadership has long since shown its inability to carry on a serious struggle against fascism. Their counterparts and onetime allies in France symbolized by Petain expose the bankruptcy and deceit of their brand of anti-fascism. In Spain while the Republican officers dickered with Franco and the American British and French bourgeoisie supplied him with equipment, the Asturian miners and Catalan workers and peasants raised the barricades and organized militias. The struggle against fascist reaction can and will only be waged by the workers themselves.

We are solidly behind compulsory military training. But workers cannot support military training under control of those who demanded the crushing of the Stratford strike by the Militia or the intimidation of the Arvida workers by the Army.

We demand;
Military training, financed by the government, but under trade union control
Officer's training camps to train workers to become officers under trade union control
Ejection of known fascists and fascist sympathizers from the Armed Forces
Trade Union control of the Military Service Boards.

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Immediately following we reproduce an article on Stafford Cripps which was submitted for publication after his appointment to the English Cabinet. The analysis of Cripps while of a limited and personal character has in the meanwhile been completely substantiated. Such was the confidence of the British Imperialists that he was appointed to bargain with the Indian Masses for the support of the war effort. No one could have offered nothing with the confidence and prestige of Cripp's

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CRIPPS ——— AND THE BRITISH WORKERS.

When Winston Churchill, in the face of appalling defeats for British Arms both at Singapore and in the Channel Battle with the Scarnhorst and Gneisenau, endeavoured to placate popular discontent with the "war effort" of British capitalism by including Stafford Cripps in his war cabinet and dropping some of the deadest wood from the government, he was, in fact, paying a back handed tribute to the role of the British workers in the war economy.

The move has been hailed in labor circles as a great victory for the left and rosy vistas have been painted of the possibilities for Socialism that might exist with Cripps in a position of power. There could be no greater error. Churchill knows his Cripps, just as left-wingers in the British Labour Party know him. Cripps will soon be eating out of Churchill's hand.

It would be well for all of us to know something of Cripp's record for future reference. Personally, he may be rated as a "high minded" man, whatever that means. Politically, he is completely unstable, with no grounding in the fundamentals of socialism, subject to the influence of the strongest personality near him, and quite irresponsible in his actions. In the quarrel between the imperialist sanctionist wing and the pacifist Lansbury wing of the Labour Party in 1935, Cripps one day denounced the labor bureaucrats and the next day announced that there was nothing fundamental between the quarrelling factions; no difference between imperialism and socialism! In 1938 he sacrificed the Socialist League for a mythical unity between the Labour Party and the Communist Party, despite the fact that he regarded the Socialist League as the only hope to revive the Labour Party.

When he tired of the Communist Party flirtation, he denounced the Stalinist regime in the strongest terms, but now they are buddies again. No! Cripps can be relied to do only one thing; sow illusions among the workers to bolster the regime of British Imperialism.

In Britain today, there is only one party, one organization; that of the Fourth International, that can lead the British workers out of the morass of imperialist war. In 1938, this organization was just a handful of determined people, workers who had seen through the imperialism of the Labour Party leadership, the Russian nationalism of the Communists, the fake pacifism and muddle-headed opportunism of the I.L.P. Today the Fourth Internationalists in Britain publish 3 monthly organs, the theoretical "Workers International News" and the newspapers "Socialist Appeal" and "The Militant". The sales of these papers mount monthly. Prior to the war the organization was confined almost entirely to London. In a score of industrial centers all over the British Isles workers are turning away from the incapable and rotten leadership of British Imperialism that is represented by the unholy alliance of Churchill, Cripps, Bevin, and the Communist Party. Slowly but surely they are headed towards a Worker's Britain, the only Britain capable of defeating Hitler and Hitlerism. In the forefront of that movement, it is the great and historic responsibility of the Fourth Internationalists to lead the British workers to victory.

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THE WAR AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

GERMANY

THE WORKERS...

The German worker would not be free to read this paper or any paper like it. In order to understand his lot, says G.W. Stonier, the English reviewer, the reader " must dispossess himself of freedom of mind, and must assume, instead, suspicion of his neighbors, fear of the police, hope on the grimmest level. he will then be in a position to enter into the helot-life of the average German. Hitler has given him (in return for obedience) "security ", and beyond that he looks for a little happiness..... He reads, but without enthusiasm, a blandly featureless press. He lives almost wholely on bread and potatoes, receives each month a small gritty cake of soap, smokes a very few cigarettes, grumbles over clothing, the air raids, and the fruits of victory. He can't travel; there is nowhere to go, no means of going..... The shops are bare of almost everything except essentials..... His rent has been fixed, but so have his wages, though he must work longer hours and pay heavier taxes.... Striking is punishable by death....."

...AND THEIR BOSSES.

Above these workers, " better fed but shorter lived, are the soldiery."

Above them again, the élite: Hitler's court, the party bosses, political generals and millionaires, the intelligentsia of the Nordic Myth.

The élite enjoy unbridled power and riches; the soldiers are healthy and better armored, but more ruthlessly deployed than any others; the workers are dulled but busy. But Hitler has to win the war: with power mania and blood baths goes inefficiency: the Germans, though blinkered, have instincts that aren't Hitler's."

GERMANY'S WEARINESS...

Stonier quotes Stephen Laird (Hitler's Reich and Churchill's Britain), " Even now, after eight years of Nazism, hundreds of German workers are shot by Himmler each year for participating in opposition to the Nazi regime.

Millions of Germans are anti-Nazi in thought, if not in action. As for those Germans who are acquiescent, or just quiescent, remember that they have been through a lot more than Nazism."

After the World War they had Versailles, their two greatest working class leaders, Luxembourg and Leibknecht were murdered in a revolutionary uprising, then they had inflation and two more risings, one of the right and one of the left, and then they moved into a major depression, and then they had a fight

for power in which Hitler won out," and then they had the brutalities and the suppressions when the Nazis came to power, and then they had the six years of preparation for war, and now they have another war against the world. All of this, until the Russian War, without any effective resistance from the people who were still free.

The cynical indifference of the United States and Great Britain to Spain during the civil war disheartened those simple enough to believe there is any ideological difference between the rulers of the fascist and the "democratic" countries.

The German people are numbed

...POLITICAL CONFUSION...

Hitler never came legally to power. He had about a third of the voters behind him in the last free election, and the reason he had as many as he did was two-fold. Firstly, there was very great feeling of insecurity in Germany, and he promised to eliminate unemployment. Secondly, the Stalinists, who made the same promise, fatally divorced themselves from the masses of workers, led by the Social Democrats, by following their infantile policy of Social-Fascism This intra-class struggle confused and emasculated the most advanced and fully organised working class in the world.

...AND PRESENT DILEMMA.

The dilemma of the German people is that they want peace, but they only see two ways of getting it. Either under a victorious Hitler, or under Hitler defeated. Encouraged by Sir Robert Vansittart and Herr Goebells, the Toronto Evening Telegram and the rest of the reactionary press, the latter appears to them garbed in all the horror of a new and more degrading Versailles Treaty.

" Democratic " capitalism offers them the system of pre-Hitler days: six millions unemployed, starvation, insecurity, national " dishonor ", debts. A great and cultured people cannot accept that willingly, and until they can be shown the possibility of a third alternative they tolerate Hitler in order to avoid defeat.

THE TRADE WAR, THE BOSSES' LIES,... AND THE WORKERS' HUMANITY.

The ruling classes in both groups of warring capitalist nations are out to capture the markets and resources of the world for their own exclusive use and it is in their interest to keep the workers of their respective countries at loggerheads; the men who win the markets for them will only fight if they imagine they have different interests. And so we have a common front between the Toronto Evening Telegram and Goebells, both promising vengeance, Versailles and slavery. There are atrocity stories by the Germans against the Russians and the Russians against the Germans. All try to give the impression that the armies of the other side are composed of inhuman fiends.

How inhuman are they? How would the Evening Telegram account for F. M. von Reichenau's note to the German Army? Here is what he said:

"Captured Russian officers have recently stated, with a smile, that many Soviet people freely walk about the streets and feed from our field-kitchens. Such conduct on the part of the men can be explained only by thoughtlessness. It is timely therefore that an explanation be given of the essential meaning of the present war. The provision of food to the population and to prisoners is unnecessary humanitarianism."

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This can mean only one thing, the German soldiers aren't ruthless enough to please their masters, and are being urged on, just as Vansittart and Duff-Cooper are urging on the British and fanning the flames of hatred.

C A N A D A

THE CLASS STRUGGLE AT HOME.

Meanwhile, the employers at home, directly and through their government, are carrying on an ever unceasing war against workers here.

The bosses are getting annoyed at continual references to the Kirkland Lake miners strike, but it is the classic example in Canada. Hepburn and King buried the hatchet and united against the strikers.

The Nova Scotia mine-owners used all the resources of press, radio, slow starvation and governmental pressure to force beggarly wages on the miners.

The Arvida strikers were condemned as saboteurs and fifth columnists by the government spokesman in the first report released of their dispute after the news had been suppressed in this free country for three days. Subsequent official enquiry proved the government spokesman a liar, but the first report was read by everyone.

King has imposed a wage ceiling, striking a cynical and calculated blow at the basic organising factor of the Labor Unions, the front line defenders of working class standards.

Women are being trained to perform the same duties as men, without equal wages, thereby dividing the working class while the employers reap the extra profits.

This is the society we are holding up as an example to the Germans.

Meanwhile we threaten her with reprisals, destruction, disintegration...

G R E A T B R I T A I N

THE BETTESHANGER STRIKE.

The British miners, like those at Kirkland Lake, are showing us the way. They have won their first complete victory since the beginning of the war.

Betteshanger is a small town about eight miles from Dover. The miners there were commended for their bravery in working throughout the Blitzkrieg.

The mineowners revealed their kind of patriotism, their devotion to their profits while the enemy is at the gates, by closing a very productive wall, and opening up a new wall, where, despite strenuous efforts, the working was so difficult that the miners were unable to make up their average wage. The miners protested, and after lengthy negotiations the question was submitted to arbitration, and after delay the decision was in favor of the employers.

The men continued to press their demands but the management were adamant Wages were 3/4d. below the county minimum, and so 35 miners decided to go on strike. They were immediately supported by their fellow workers. On Jan. 19 approximately 1,600 men came out on strike with the object of protecting the minimum wage.

The company issued 1,017 summonses.

The Government immediately followed with prosecutions under an Essential Works Order, operated by the Labor faker, Ernest Bevin, which imposes severe penalties on workers' disputes while leaving the bosses free to organise mon-

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opolios and cartels for the usurpation of state power.

At the trial three miners leaders were sentenced to imprisonment, 1014 men were fined. William Powell, one of those imprisoned, called out as he was being led away, " Don't go back till I come out! "

The workers were furious, and at a mass meeting two days later they decided unanimously to continue on strike.

Immediately the news got out, and a movement of support sprung up.

Ignoring the Trades Disputes Act of 1927 (retained by Bevin although it was introduced to punish workers for the 1926 General Strike), they struck in sympathy in the coalfields in Wales and Yorkshire.

The Government gave in.

The Minister for Mines argued for four hours with the men and was forced to grant all their demands.

Back pay was made up, their fines quashed, their leaders released!

Working men were victorious!

But they had to fight -- to fight against bosses at home as well as the bosses abroad.

What an example of democracy for the German workers!

If Canadian and British bosses treat their own people like that, how will they treat German workers?

THE NEXT STEP FOR THE WORKERS IS TO DEMAND WORKERS CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

THE PREREQUISITE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF HITLER.

The most certain disruptive factor in Germany today would be assurance to the German workers that they would gain from a Hitler defeat. Under a capitalist Britain, U.S. and Canada this is a fantastic proposition - no leader in any of the " United Nations " has dared to make such a suggestion.

On the other hand a Britain, Canada and United States where the workers own and control industry and the farms, and where no fat financiers drain the wealth from the workers' pockets, could make an appeal, a socialist appeal to their German fellow workers to throw out Hitler and work the factories, their factories, for themselves.

A call to the soldiers to fraternise (witness their feeding of the Soviet workers) would meet with an immediate response when made by a Socialist America and Britain.

An Allied Red Army massing for European offensive would meet with a tremendous response from the oppressed French workers and from the Italians. The Spaniards would rise again and overthrow General Franco and Spanish Fascism.

THE REAL SABOTEURS OF THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM.

IN BRITAIN AND CANADA.

Why isn't this done?

Because the Kirkland Lake mineowners, the Arvida owners, the Betteshanger mineowners and their lackeys, King and Churchill, are not concerned with destroying Fascism, but with defending their own trade reserves and taking over those of Germany. To win the war by sacrificing their profits would rob the war of all its point.

(E.) (June 1942 p.5)

Sooner than that they would preserve a modicum of their profits by surrendering national sovereignty.

Does that sound fantastic? Yet that is what Britain is doing.

To preserve capitalism the British ruling class is sacrificing the post-war standards of the British workers to the United States, the collosus whose financial might dominates all of the " United Nations." There is a scarcely veiled suspended hostility between the two Anglo-Saxon powers because Britain cannot win the war against Hitler without U.S. aid except by introducing Socialism and appealing to the workers of Europe to accept aid from the British workers in overthrowing international fascism and building the United Socialist States of Europe.

IN FRANCE.

France surrendered to Hitler immediately after General Weygand had told the French Cabinet the situation in the army was comparable to that in 1917 in Russia. He warned them of the danger of a Workers' France.

IN THE U.S.A.

The Standard Oil Company has a cartel agreement with I.G.Farbenindustrie the German chemical combine. Each aims at a world market for its wares, but Farbenindustrie does not trespass on the oil market, except for synthetic gas made in Germany, and in return Standard Oil gives it all the patents for the chemical by-products of the oil industry. The arrangement works smoothly enough even in wartime. In 1939 the Standard Oil subsidiary in the Reich was helping to design plants for the manufacture of aviation gas by an American formula. The two-way traffic is impeded by totalitarian politics. Farbenindustrie gave Standard Oil its process for making Buna, synthetic rubber, but Hitler objected to its manufacture outside Germany, and the American company deferred to his wish. It then invented its own process, by which Butyl, as it is called, costs half as much as Buna to make. It handed the patents to Farbenindustrie, and to the company's subsidiary, the Pirelli Company of Italy, while refusing them to the American army and navy, as well as to British and independent firms. In 1939 a Standard Oil Representative met a German in Holland, and wrote to him that I.G.F." delivered to me assignment of some 2000 foreign patents, and we did our best to work out a modus vivendi which would operate through the term of the war, whether or not the U.S. came in. "

Later in the year Standard Oil made arrangements with Mitsui, the biggest Japanese Industrialist, " as we fear the U.S. Government, in the near future, may have grounds for action unfavorable to American and British trade, and we consider it timely to organise with our Japanese partners "— in other words, to break the blockade.

A U.S. Congressional Committee produced these facts. And they were not worse, said the Assistant Attorney-General, than those relating to cartel restrictions of aluminum, drugs, dyes, and many other war materials.

This is only one case of industrial interests looking after their profit gathering regardless of the patriotism they prate about to the workers in the bought press.

They are perfect examples of the way in which the production and marketing of important goods overruns national boundaries, and is already organised on a world scale and controlled by small groups of private people.

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Every move of the Canadian workers, the U.S. or British workers to achieve at home greater freedom, greater democracy; every blow struck for more workers' control and ownership of industry is a blow struck for that kind of society which can appeal over the heads of German fascism to the common working man and woman in Germany.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

In our struggle to achieve this we are attacked at every turn by those onetime socialists, the Communist Party. Their policy is tied to the alleged needs of the Soviet Union; in reality to the Stalinist bureaucracy which, thru the failure of Europe to achieve international socialism in the upheavals after the last war, was able to usurp power in that exhausted and underdeveloped country.

Stalin is not concerned with the Socialist United States of Europe, and the overthrow of Hitler fascism by the United Socialist Nations, hand in hand with the German workers. Believing avowedly in " Socialism in One Country," he is intent on the military overthrow of Germany, or better still, an exhausted Germany which would sign another German-Russian pact, and act as a buffer between Russia and Anglo-American imperialism.

Stalin fears a resurgent workers Europe because it would release tremendous latent powers of self-government in the Russian workers, and consequently the transformation of the present nationalised economy into a free Socialist society, where no room could be found for Stalin's ruthless dictatorship.

THE IMMEDIATE TASK

The lesson for Canadians is clear.

We must enter fully into the struggle to preserve democratic rights, and to extend them in the direction of socialism.

To fail in this is to surrender Canada to its super-industrialists, who are using the war demands for greater production to impose restrictions on workers which bear a remarkable resemblance to those imposed in Germany.

If we surrender our defences at home, our Labor Unions, our working-class organisations, then we surrender to native fascism.

To achieve the military defeat of Hitler in Germany, only to have Canadian Hitlerism here, is to lose the war.

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CANADA STRIKES

Since the beginning of February there have been strikes in Canada in the following trades: coal miners, bakers, auto workers, biscuit workers, textile workers, gold miners, dress workers and tannery workers. Uncoordinated strikes and compromises excepted, 50% of the disputes ended in workers' victories.

- Source: Dept. of Labor Gazette, Ottawa.

THE BETRAYERS OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Immediately follows another instalment of the Manifesto of the 4TH International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution. Adopted in May 1940 the Manifesto has passed the test of subsequent events. Its basic principles are unalterable by any changes in the war map! Here is the road for the world working class!

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF TREACHEROUS LEADERS FOT THE WAR

The victory of the Spanish revolution could have opened up an era of revolutionary overturns throughout Europe and so forestalled the present war. But that heroic revolution, which contained within itself every possibility of victory, was smothered in the embrace of the Second and Third International, with the active cooperation of the anarchists. The world proletariat became poorer in its loss of another great hope and richer in the lessons of another monstrous betrayal.

The mighty movement of the French proletariat in June 1936 revealed exceptionally favorable conditions for the revolutionary conquest of power. A French Soviet republic would immediately have gained revolutionary hegemony of Europe, created revolutionary repercussions in every country, rocked the totalitarian regimes and in this way saved humanity from the present slaughter with its countless victims. But the thoroughly debased, cowardly, and treacherous policies of Leon Blum and Leon Jouhaux, with the active support of the French section of the Comintern, led to the collapse of one of the most promising movements of the last decade.

The strangling of the Spanish revolution and the sabotaging of the proletarian offensive in France----these two tragic facts stand at the threshold of the present war. The bourgeoisie convinced itself that with such "labor leaders" at its disposal it could go ahead with anything, even a new slaughter of peoples. The leaders of the Second International prevented the proletariat from overthrowing the bourgeoisie at the close of the first imperialist war. The leaders of the Second and Third Internationals helped the bourgeoisie unloose a second imperialist war. Let it become their political grave.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The war of 1914-18 split the Second International at once into two camps separated by trenches. Every social democratic party defended its fatherland. Not until several years after the war did the traitorous warring brethern become reconciled and proclaim mutual amnesty.

Today the situation in the Second International has changed sharply---on the surface. All its sections without exception are politically on one side of the military lines, in the camp of the Allies; some because they are parties in the democratic countries, others because they are emigres from belligerent

or neutral countries. The German Social Democracy which followed a despicable chauvinist policy during the first imperialist war under the Hohenzollern banner, today is a party of "defeatism" in the service of France and England. It would be inexcusable to believe that these case-hardened lackeys have become revolutionists. There is a simple explanation. The Germany of Wilhelm II offered the reformists sufficient openings for personal sinecures in the parliamentary bodies, municipalities, trade unions and other places. The defense of Imperial Germany was the defense of a well-filled trough in which the conservative labor bureaucracy buries its snout. "Social democracy remains patriotic only so long as the existing political regime secures its profits and privileges," warned our theses six years ago. Russian Mensheviks and Narodniks who were patriots--even under the Czar, when they had their own Duma fractions, their own newspapers, their own trade union functionaries, and hoped for further advances along this road--now that they have lost all this hold a defeatist position in regard to the USSR.

Consequently the present "unanimity" of the Second International is explainable by the fact that all its sections hope that the Allies will save them their posts and revenues in the labor bureaucracy of the democratic countries and restore these posts and revenues in the totalitarian countries. The social democracy does not go beyond impotent day-dreams about patronage of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. These political invalids are completely incapable of struggle even where their own interests are involved.

This was revealed most clearly in Scandinavia, which appeared to be the most secure sanctuary of the Second International and where all three countries were governed for a period of years by the sober, realistic, reformist and pacifist social democracy. Socialism was what these gentlemen called the conservative royal democracy, plus the state church, plus the niggardly social reforms made possible for a time by limited military expenditures. Backed by the League of Nations and protected by the shield of "neutrality" the Scandinavian governments calculated on generations of tranquil and peaceful development. But the imperialist masters paid no attention to their calculations. They were compelled to dodge the blows of fate. Upon the USSR invading Finland, all three Scandinavian governments proclaimed themselves neutral as far as finland was concerned. Upon Germany's invasion of Denmark and Norway, Sweden declared herself neutral so far as both victims of aggression were concerned. Denmark contrived to declare herself neutral even in relation to herself. Norway under the gun muzzles of her guardian England, alone made a few symbolic gestures of self-defense. These heroes are fully prepared to live at the expense of the fatherland but feel disinclined to die for it. The war which they did not foresee has in passing overthrown their hopes for a peaceful evolution under King and God. The Scandinavian paradise, final refuge of the Second International's hopes, has been transformed into a tiny sector of the general imperialist hell.

The social democratic opportunists know but one policy---that of passive adaptation. Under the conditions of decaying capitalism nothing remains open to them but the surrender of one position after another. The whittling away of their already miserable program, the lowering of their demands, the renunciation of demands altogether, continuous retreat further and further back until there is no place left to retreat except a rat hole. But even there the

pityless hand of imperialism drags them out by the tail. Such is the brief history of the Second International. It is being killed by the present war for the second time and, one must think, this time, forever.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The policy of the degenerated Third International — a mixture of crude opportunism and unbridled adventurism — exercises an influence on the working class which is, if possible, even more demoralising than the policy of its elder brother, the Second International. The revolutionary party builds its entire policy upon the class-consciousness of the workers; the Comintern is preoccupied with nothing but contaminating and poisoning this classconsciousness.

The official propagandists of each of the belligerent camps expose, sometimes quite correctly, the crimes of the opposing camp. Goebells tells a good deal of truth about British violence in India. The French and English press says a great many penetrating things about the foreign policy of Hitler and of Stalin. Nevertheless this one-sided propaganda by itself represents the worst chauvinist poison. Half-truths are the most dangerous kind of lies.

The entire present propaganda of the Comintern belongs to this category. After five years of the crudest fawning upon the democracies, when the whole of "communism" was reduced to the monotonous indictment of Fascist aggressors, the Comintern suddenly discovered in the autumn of 1939 the criminal imperialism of the Western democracies. Left about face! From then on not a single word of condemnation about the destruction of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, the seizure of Denmark and Norway and the shocking bestialities inflicted by Hitler's gangs on the Polish and Jewish people! Hitler was made out to be a peace-loving vegetarian continually being provoked by the Western imperialists. The Anglo-French alliance was referred to in the Comintern press as the "imperialist bloc against the German people." Goebells himself could have cooked up nothing better! The emigré German Communist Party burned with the flame of love for the fatherland. And since the German fatherland had not ceased to be fascist it turned out that the German Communist Party held — a social-fascist position. The time had finally come when Stalin's theory of social-fascism took on flesh and blood.

At first sight the conduct of the French and English sections of the Communist International appeared to be diametrically opposite. In contradistinction to the Germans they were compelled to attack their own government. But this sudden defeatism was not internationalism, but a distorted variety of patriotism — these gentlemen considered their fatherland to be the Kremlin, on which their welfare depends. Many of the French Stalinists behaved with unquestionable courage under persecution. But the political content of this courage was smirched by their embellishments of the rapacious policy of the enemy camp. What must the French workers think of it?

Revolutionary internationalists have always been portrayed by reaction as agents of a foreign enemy. The Comintern created a situation for its Eng-

lish and French sections that made them provide the very grounds for such an accusation and thereby forcibly drove the workers into the patriotic camp or condemned them to confusion and passivity.

The policy of the Kremlin is simple: it sold Hitler the Comintern along with oil and manganese. But the doglike servility with which these people allowed themselves to be sold irrefutably testifies to the internal corruption of the Comintern. Neither principles, nor honor, nor conscience have been left to the Kremlin's agents — only a supple spine. But people with supple spines have never yet led a revolution.

Stalin's friendship with Hitler will not endure for ever, nor even for any length of time. Before our Manifesto reaches the masses the foreign policy of the Kremlin may undergo a new turn. In that case the character of the Comintern's propaganda would also change. If the Kremlin draws close to the democracies the Comintern will once again dig out of its warehouses the Brown Book of National Socialist crimes. But this does not mean that its propaganda will assume a revolutionary character. In changing labels it will remain as servile as before. Revolutionary policy demands that above all, the masses be told the truth. But the Comintern lies systematically. We turn to the toilers of the world and say: Do not believe in liars!

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It is very appropriate that the above extract from a basic Marxist document should be published, more than two years after its adoption by the Fourth International, and prove to be so accurate in its prognosis of the present role of the Communist Parties in the " United Nations." It is good to be reminded of the propaganda put about during the war years prior to the invasion of the U.S.S.R. There could be no more startling exposure of Stalin's unprincipled, cynical opportunism.

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THE LATEST BETRAYAL

Stalin has sold Russia's interest in the future Socialist World Revolution for some more promises of tanks and airplanes. He has discovered that imperialist Britain and the Soviet Union are " like-minded," and promises, for the space of twenty years, to cooperate economically with capitalist Britain, and to help maintain " order." A similar pact was signed with the U.S.